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9 October 1985

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INDONESIA

EDITORIAL ON USSR'S REJECTION OF COMMUNIST EMIGRES

BK081103 Jakarta BERITA BUANA in Indonesian 3 Sep 85

[Editorial: "The USSR's Attitude Toward Indonesian Communist Emigres"]

[Text] After the failure of the 30 September movement of the Indonesian Communist Party [PKI], most PKI Communists overseas did not return to Indonesia. Some were students, and ambassadors, while some were professional figures. There were also those who purposely fled overseas, before or after the incident took place.

Due to the universal nature of all communists parties in the world, the feeling of solidarity among them is very strong. They mutually help each other oppose any group that is considered an enemy. The PKI continued to carry out illegal activities even though the PKI had been dissolved. Other communist groups outside Indonesia certainly wanted to help their comrades by whatever means possible. The East Timore Fretelin [Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor] group used this opportunity to antagonize Indonesia regarding the integration of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia.

They used international and UN forums. Together with communists in Europe, they tried to influence the European Parliament, some members of which are communist supporters. However, those European countries do not have an anti-Indonesia attitude--as we all know, the European Parliament is only made up of representatives of West European parliaments.

The efforts of Fretelin and Indonesian communists overseas failed. As a matter of fact, although initially the Australian Labor government had its doubts, it has now officially recognized the Republic of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor. Even the European Parliament is beginning to understand the true situation.

Fretelin certainly had to intensify efforts to persuade the Soviet Union to support them, either materially or spiritually. But, the gigantic red bear is not so stupid as to plainly follow the whims of Fretelin. The Soviet Union's desires to remain friends with Indonesia, therefore Fretelin's request for support concerning the East Timor issue is not being entertained at all.

The deputy house speaker, Harjanto, recently visited some East European countries and told the press on 29 August, following his meeting with President Suharto at the Bina Graha presidential office, that the Soviet Union was not interested in the East Timor issue and did not consider the issue a problem.

Speaking on the 30 September movement/PKI escapees, Harjanto said that most of those who stayed in the Soviet Union had been ousted; but it is true that there are several Indonesians in the U.S. [as published -- Indonesian abbreviation for Soviet Union is U.S.] that have been naturalized, while others wish to return to Indonesia as good citizens.

According to the deputy house speaker, President Suharto has no objection to those who wish to return to Indonesia as long as they are willing to undergo proper security investigations.

The Soviet Union has a strict attitude toward the 30 September movement/PKI escapees and communists/affiliated to Fretelin. This should be greeted with a firm handshake. If the U.S. [as published] wishes to remain friends with Indonesia--and Indonesia wishes to remain friends with all countries in the world, including the socialist bloc countries--they must not interfere with the internal affairs of our country.

CSO: 4213/326

LAOS

BRIEFS

GREETINGS TO BULGARIAN EXPERTS--Vientiane, September 10 (KPL)--The Foreign Expert Management Department attached to the Council of Ministers' Office in collaboration with the State Planning Committee and other ministries concerned organized here yesterday a well-wishing ceremony for Bulgarian experts working in the Lao PDR on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the national day of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (September 9). Among those present at the ceremony were Noupnan Sitphasai, vice chairman of the State Planning Committee. Bulgarian Ambassador Todor Tsvetanov Netsov was also present. In his speech, Noupnan Sitphasai, on behalf of the Lao party and government, hailed the contribution of the Bulgarian experts working at various projects in Laos. For his part, Todor Tsvetanov Netsov expressed deep thanks to the Lao side for providing adequate facilities for the Bulgarian experts working here. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0905 GMT 10 Sep 85 BK]

BOOK EXHIBITION ON SRV--Vientiane, September 07 (OANA-KPL)--The Ministry of Culture in collaboration with the Vietnamese Embassy here and the Vietnamese Ministry of Culture, opened here on September 5 an exhibition of books, magazines, newspapers and stamps on the occasion of the 40th National Day of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (September 2). Among the officials present at the opening ceremony were Khambou Sounisai, member of the LPRP Central Committee, mayor of Vientiane, and Thongsing Thammavong, alternate member of the LPRP Central Committee, minister of culture. Diplomatic envoys here were also present on the occasion. Somtheu Phetmani, chief of the Office of the Ministry of Culture, and Nguyen Anh Tuan, in charge of the exhibition, exchanged speeches to the gathering. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0908 GMT 7 Sep 85 BK]

SRV-ASSISTED BOAT ACCEPTED--Vientiane, September 9 (KPL)--A 220-seat passenger boat built with the assistance of Vietnamese experts was handed over to the Lao authorities on September 7 at km 4 river-port. The construction of this steel boat was started on August 23, 1984. Signing the hand-over document for the Lao side was Bouathong, vice minister of transport and post, and for the Vietnamese side, Tran Van Lu, vice minister of communications and transport. Phao Bounnaphon, minister of transport and post, and Vu Tien, charge d'affaires A.I. of the Vietnamese Embassy, were also present at the ceremony. So far, Vietnam has assisted Laos to build 15 boats, including six steel boats. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0909 GMT 9 Sep 85 BK]

COOPERATION WITH VIETNAMESE ASSOCIATION--Vientiane, September 10, OANA (KPL)--Delegations of the Lao-Vietnamese and the Vietnamese-Lao Friendship Association met here this morning to discuss ways to further promote their cooperation for 1986-87. The two associations will cooperate in the field of information and propaganda and in the celebration of various commemorative days of the two countries. They will exchange visits, consider the establishment of their branches, and open courses on the Lao and Vietnamese languages for Lao and Vietnamese workers and people. Representing Lao side at the talks was Inpong Khai-Gnavong, deputy-minister of foreign affairs, and the Vietnamese side, Nong Quoc Chan, deputy minister of culture, and also vice president of the Vietnamese-Lao Friendship Association. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0914 GMT 10 Sep 85 BK]

SRV AMITY GROUP COOPERATION--Vientiane, September 11 (KPL)--An agreement on cooperation in information and joint organization of the celebration of the jubilee events in 1986-87 was signed here today following talks between delegation of the Laos-Vietnam and Vietnam-Laos Friendship Associations. The agreement also stipulated that the two sides would exchange visits. Signatories to the document were Inpong Khagnavong, deputy foreign minister, and Nong Quoc Chan, deputy minister of culture and vice president of the Vietnam-Laos Friendship Association. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0906 GMT 11 Sep 85 BK]

UN POPULATION CENSUS AID--Vientiane, September 12 (KPL)--A memorandum on aid granted to Laos by the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) was signed here yesterday. The memorandum states that the grant is to be used in the survey of the population birth and death rates and the growth of population in Laos. The survey is expected to begin toward the end of this year. Specialised population census personnel are to be trained under the same scheme. Signing the memorandum were, on the Lao side Dr Somphavan Inthavong, vice chairman of the State Planning Committee, and on the UN side, by Dr Nafis Sadik, duty executive director of the UNFPA. The UN delegation paid visit to Laos on September 9 to 12. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0910 GMT [11] Sep 85]

DANISH DELEGATION MEETS PHOMVIHAN, DEPARTS--Vientiane, September 14 (OANA-KPL)--Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, received here yesterday a visiting delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark [CPD] led by its Politburo member, Bernard Jeune. During a cordial discussion, the general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee highly appreciated the visit of the CPD to the Lao PDR. The sides discussed questions pertaining to the immediate and long-term relations between the two parties, as well as other regional and international issues. Also present at the meeting were Phoumi Vongvichit Politburo member of the LPRP Central Committee, Khamphai Boupha, member of the LPRP Central Committee and deputy-head of the LPRP Central Committee's external relations commission, and Phao Phimphachan, deputy-head of the office of the LPRP Central Committee. The CPD delegation left here on September 14, after ending its official friendship visit at the invitation of the LPRP. It was seen off at the airport by P. Vongvichit, Kamphai Boupha, and Phao Phimphachan. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0858 GMT 14 Sep 85]

SOVIET AGRICULTURAL AGREEMENT--Vientiane, September 13 (KPL)--The Lao Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Cooperatives and the Soviet State Committee for Agricultural Machinery signed here on September 11 the minutes of their talks on the Soviet supply of agricultural machinery and tractor spare parts to Laos. Signing the minutes for the Lao side was Kou Chansena, head of the Planning Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Cooperatives, and for the Soviet side, Valecia Glyrdodirsky [name as received], head of the General Department for the Export of Agricultural Machinery of the Soviet committee. The delegation of the Soviet State Committee arrived here for a seven-day visit. While in Laos, it visited several tractor stations and states farms and held talks with its Lao counterparts. The Soviet delegation left here on the same day. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0920 GMT 13 Sep 85]

DANISH DELEGATION ARRIVES--Vientiane, September 13 (KPL)--Talks between delegations of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the Communist Party of Denmark [CPD] were held yesterday on the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the two parties. The delegation of the LPRP was headed by Phoumi Vongvichit, Politburo member of the LPRP Central Committee, and the CPD delegation by its Politburo member Bernard Jeune [name as received]. The delegation of the CPD arrived here on September 12 for an official friendship visit at the invitation of the LPRP Central Committee. It was welcomed at Wattai Airport by Phoumi Vongvichit, Khamphai Boupha, member of the LPRP Central Committee and deputy head of its Commission for External Affairs, Phao Phimphan, deputy head of the office of the LPRP Central Committee, and other party officials. In the evening of the same day Phoumi Vongvichit offered a banquet in honour of B. Jeune and his delegation. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0917 GMT 13 Sep 85]

PHOUMSAVAN RECEIVES SRV DELEGATION--Vientiane, September 13 (KPL)--Nouhak Phoumsavan, Politburo member of the LPRP Central Committee, and first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, received here yesterday a visiting delegation of the Scientific and Technical Council of Vietnam led by its president Dang Thi, who is also a member of the CPV Central Committee. In the course of the friendly and cordial meeting, N. Phoumsavan and his guest exchanged views on how to further deepen the existing relations of special friendship and all-round cooperation between the two countries. The Vietnamese delegation arrived here on September 9 on a friendly visit. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0913 GMT 13 Sep 85]

U.S. 'TERRORISM POLICY'--Vientiane, September 18 (KPL)--In an article today, the daily PASASON condemns the U.S. policy of state terrorism, describing it as a systematic working method of great priority of the CIA. The paper enumerates the nations being subjected to this CIA's terrorist policy, most of which are newly liberated and socialist-oriented countries. A so-called conference of "anticommunist fighters" from Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Laos, Vietnam, and Kampuchea organized in Texas three days ago under the sponsorship of the CIA is a clear evidence of the CIA's scheme of manipulating reactionaries in exile to oppose their own countries. To shield itself from worldwide condemnation, the CIA is actively using exiled elements to carry out terrorist actions against their own nations. However, the paper says, whatever methods the CIA may use, it will fail to achieve what



it expects. The CIA-instigated sabotage plots against Nicaragua, Angola, Afghanistan and other countries have repeatedly been foiled. Therefore, the Texas conference of the so-called "anticommunist fighters" was just another farce the CIA has staged to provoke further worldwide indignation, the paper concludes. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0909 GMT 18 Sep 85]

SCIENCE SEMINAR CLOSES--Vientiane, September 17 (OANA-KPL)--The first refresher course for science teachers sponsored by UNESCO was closed here on September 14. The course started on July 2 [and] was attended by 122 science teachers from 10 provinces of the country. The course provided teaching methods and field work for four subjects: mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology. Present at the closing ceremony was Phoumi Vongvichit, Politburo member of the party Central Committee, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers. Per Hakam Janvid, representative of UNDP [United Nations Development Program] here, was also on hand. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0855 GMT 17 Sep 85]

MESSAGE ON FLOOD DISASTER--Vientiane, September 21 (OANA-KPL)--Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRV, on September 10 sent a telegram of sympathy to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the LPDR, Kaysone Phomvihane. The telegram says: "I am very sad to learn about the great losses of lives and materials caused to the people of Oudomsai Province by floods. On behalf of the Vietnamese people and government, I would like to send our deep sympathy to the Lao Government and people, especially the people in the disaster area. We believe that under the leadership of the Lao party and government, the Lao people, with their fine tradition of working and solidarity, will soon overcome these difficulties, restore their normal life, continue to develop the economy, and successfully carry out the task of national building and defence." [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0854 GMT 21 Sep 85]

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM SRV--Vientiane, Sept 19 (KPL)--A delegation of the cultural service of the northern Oudomsai Province led by its director Khampheng, who is also member of the provincial administrative committee, has returned home after paying a two-week visit to its Vietnamese sister province of Ha Nam Ninh. During its stay there, the Lao delegation had talks with Vietnamese officials on further promotion of the cultural cooperation between the two provinces. It attended the celebration of the 40th National Day of the SR of Vietnam. So far, 30 Lao artists have been trained in Ha Nam Ninh Province. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0907 GMT 19 Sep 85 BK]

SRV FINANCIAL DELEGATION ARRIVES--Vientiane, September 20 (KPL)--A delegation of the Vietnamese Ministry of Finance led by its Deputy Minister Ngo Thiet Thach arrived here for a friendly visit on September 19. The same day, the delegation paid a visit to Gnao Phonvantha, member of the LPRP Central Committee and minister of finance. During their talk, both sides exchanged views on their cooperation and on experiences in financial agreement. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0907 GMT 20 Sep 85 BK]

NEW BRIDGE TESTED--Vientiane, September 20 (OANA-KPL)--A new bridge being constructed across the Kading River was put into test operation on September 17. The bridge is the biggest ever constructed in the Lao PDR with Soviet assistance on Highway No 13 linking Bolikhamsai and Khammouane Provinces. It is 352 m long and 10 m wide, and can support a maximum load of 80 [metric] tons. The construction of the bridge was started in July 1981 with material and technical assistance from the Soviet Union. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0909 GMT 20 Sep 85 BK]

CSO: 4200/1567

THAILAND

EDITORIAL HAILS KHMER ROUGE DIPLOMACY, URGES 'SELF-CRITICISM'

Bangkok SING SIAN YIT PAO in Chinese 5 Aug 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Khieu Samphan's Diplomatic Activities and Democratic Kampuchea's War of Resistance Against Vietnam"]

[Text] CGDK Vice President Khieu Samphan is launching a campaign of diplomatic visits, showing that the Khmer Rouge, in order to achieve the goal of final victory in the fighting against Vietnam, does not give up foreign relations work despite the fact that CGDK President Prince Sihanouk took a passive attitude and threatened to resign because of some minor matters. It seems that the Khmer Rouge have made more efforts for the drive to rescue Cambodia. They hope to boost their anti-Vietnamese strength and increase the chance of victory through such efforts.

Considering the nature and significance of the future and the continuing war against the Vietnamese aggressors, measures taken by any faction of the tripartite resistance forces to bolster fighting spirit and increase diplomatic activities to gain more assistance are absolutely correct. The more positive actions they take, the more chance they have to accelerate the victory over the Vietnamese. As a result, whatever measures taken by any of the three factions, as long as they are aimed at achieving victory, should be encouraged, supported, and intensively carried out.

Factors for the continuing of the Democratic Kampuchea's war of resistance against Vietnam and reaching the goal of victory include just international support and economic and military assistance. These are key matters the CGDK and those concerned with the prolonged Cambodian issue are well aware of. For this reason and for the expected future development, Khieu Samphan's diplomatic activities should not be considered as a selfish attempt of the Khmer Rouge, especially, Prince Sihanouk should not have any psychological reaction which is unfavorable for the cooperation within the CGDK. At the same time, Prime Minister Son Sann and his faction should also adopt the same correct attitude. If they follow this path, it would be beneficial to the internal unity of the CDGK and future cooperation, and help gain more just international support. Therefore, the strength of the CGDK will surely be strengthened.

Our reason for emphasizing this easy-to-understand matter is to remind Prince Sihanouk not to ignore the general interests and not to make a resignation threat because of the different views expressed through past different political background, misunderstanding, or conflict caused by impulsive acts. As the current situation is getting better for the CGDK in the struggle to expel the enemy and save the nation, no matter through what military or political means, the three factions should enhance cooperation. They can discuss other questions and make an equitable settlement after they achieve the final success. This is the basic and right principle for defending the nation. If they act rashly and are easily swayed by feelings, they will take the road to their doom.

As for their policy and behavior, no matter what the facts are, the Khmer Rouge should self-criticize and examine their mistakes. They should learn from lessons drawn from their mistakes and correct them, and adopt a wholehearted spirit to sacrifice for the fate of the country and its people and to devote themselves to the fighting against Vietnam in order to finish such a great historical task quickly. Regarding the internal conflict reflected in CGDK President Sihanouk's threat to resign, no matter who is right or wrong, all sides should reach mutual understanding, exercise forbearance, make a reasonable settlement, and promise not to allow such event to occur again.

Vice President Khieu Samphan said at a press conference on the third day of his visit to Senegal that "there will be talks on the occupation of the Cambodian seat" at the upcoming nonaligned movement's summit conference to be held in Luanda in September [as published]. Such self-confident expression shows that the international reputation of the Democratic Kampuchea increases day by day. It will also ensure that the CGDK will keep its UN seat at the coming UN General Assembly in September. We hope that the anti-Vietnamese front of the Democratic Kampuchea will continue to boost their determination to struggle until final victory.

CSO: 4205/37

THAILAND

NEW SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MINISTER PROFILED

Bangkok THE NATION in English 1. Sep 85 p 9

[Text]

**T**HE nomination of Democrat Party secretary general Lek Nana as successor to the late Science, Technology, and Energy Minister Damrong Lathapipat, came as a surprise.

Early last month, a group of northeastern MPs proposed the nomination of Deputy Education Minister Khunthong Poopiewduan to fill the portfolio on grounds that the vacant post was in fact set aside for the 15 northeastern Democrat representatives.

Traditionally, the party allots the ministerial posts under its quota to MPs from all four regions in accordance with the proportion of seven MPs for a Cabinet seat. The only northeastern MP serving in the Cabinet is Khunthong. It has been widely known that Damrong was appointed under the quota for northeastern MPs.

However, Khunthong declined to leave the Education Ministry, saying that he was suited for education affairs, not science and technology. He added that he felt he would not be able to do as well as Damrong.

Meanwhile, some Democrats contended that the vacant post should be given to any highly capable party member regardless of the region he or she represents.

Therefore, party leader Bhichai Rattakul was recommended for the science portfolio in addition to his post as deputy prime minister in order to avoid conflict between northeastern MPs and the other groups within the party.

But Bhichai also turned down the offer because he already had too much work. One of his aides said the deputy prime minister is already chairing 19 committees and in his capacity as the deputy prime minister has to oversee the activities of Science, Education and Public Health ministries, as well as those of the Prime Minister's Office.

An informed source in the party said that both Bhichai and Khunthong had in fact made a tacit agreement to pave the way for Lek to be the new science minister to avoid possible repercussions among party members because Lek was respected by all Democrats and he has long been known as a major financial supporter of the party.

Lek was unanimously nominated despite his apparent reluctance to accept the nomination. He admitted that he was surprised. "I requested three days for consideration, but the party meeting insisted that I was more suitable than any other person," he said.

The nominee told reporters later that he would try to follow up on Damrong's policy and would give special emphasis on a project to make fertilizer from garbage, a project on a small-scale irrigation system and in particular, on the promotion of new scientific inventions.

Lek has long been known as a person with a heart of gold. His politeness and humble manner as well as negotiation skill has won him respect from people both within and outside the party. He has donated a piece of land on Pichai Road worth millions of baht, for the construction of the party's main office.

The 60-year-old new science, technology, and energy minister is a Bangkok native. He received his primary education at Mater Dei School and then moved on to Assumption College. He was later trained in business and commerce at the famous Assumption Commercial College.

He went to India to further his studies and earned a diploma in commerce and accountancy.

Lek began his political career by winning the general elections in 1958. He was also elected in the 1969, 1975 and 1976 polls. However, he did not run for a parliamentary seat in 1979. He made a successful comeback by winning a seat in the House of Representatives in Constituency 4 together with Bhichai in the 1983 general elections.

Lek served as deputy foreign minister under the Seni Administration between late 1975 and late 1976. During his days at the Foreign Ministry, Thailand appeared to have had good relations with Middle Eastern countries.

He is an active leader of the Muslim community in Thailand and has been the honorary Iraqi consul since 1973. Lek is married to Mrs Yupadee and has three children.

THAILAND

RIFTS IN THAI NATION PARTY EXPLORED

Bangkok THE NATION in English 9 Sep 85 p 4

[Text]

**S**UPPORTERS of Chat Thai leader Maj Gen Pramarn Adireksarn last week dismissed a call from about 20 dissident party MPs for a leadership revamp in which deputy party leader Maj Gen Chatichai Choonhavan would replace his brother-in-law as party leader. The opposition leader, while he was in Taiwan, was said to have shrugged off the demand. Yet tension and uncertainty remain in the air pending a show-down to come about following his return from Japan last night.

Pramarn's advocates charged that the real motive behind the move to oust the party leader was in fact the long-standing desire by a group of party leaders to join the coalition government before the next general elections. In a way, they said, the uproar reflected the conflict within the party between those who prefer to be in the opposition corner to earn good reputation for the party for the upcoming general elections and those who want to join the government.

The pro-Pramarn factions also charged that his challengers wanted to take the reins of the political party because his sister, Khunying Udomlak Choonhavan instructed him before her death that he must seek to become party leader to revive the pride of the Choonhavan family which reached the peak when Field Marshal Pin was in power in the past.

The party sources also traced the development to the close relations between Maj Gen Chatichai and Social Action Party (SAP) leader M.R. Kukrit Pramoj. According to the version, Maj Gen Chatichai has high respect for the SAP leader who

was asked by Field Marshal Pin to "help take care" of his son. The relationship has generated speculation within the political circles that if and when Maj Gen Chatichai ascended to the peak of the party leadership, M.R. Kukrit may find it agreeable to support the affiliation of the Opposition to the coalition government.

But the family affair, as some party sources see it, is only one factor. They theorized that external factor was the decisive one in the latest uproar between the two brothers-in-law.

Before the party rift reared its ugly head, certain senior army officers had kept constant contacts with Maj Gen Chatichai and the affiliation of Chat Thai in the coalition has always been the favourite topics of discussions. The party sources said that the deputy party leader frequently raised the matter in party meetings since the last general elections. At first, some party members were receptive towards the version but as the time went by, most of them started to feel that the party had been swindled and the approaches cited by Maj Gen Chatichai were just tactical moves at best.

The sources said that the latest figure from the government side who approached to party over the same matter was a minister of the PM's Office, who went through one of the dissident MPs. The minister reportedly offered that if the party toned down its aggressiveness, the chance would be high that it would be allowed to join the coalition government.

A pro-Pramarn source also charged that Maj Gen Chatichai hoped to be made deputy prime minister in the coalition government.

"He usually cited the argument during party meetings that unless the party joined the coalition now, the party would be running out of financial support for its contest in the next general elections," he said.

However, the party source said that Maj Gen Pramarn consistently rejected the idea in party meetings. His familiar line of argument was that Chat Thai should not join a government headed by Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda but should continue to play the role of the Opposition until the term of the House expires. Party sources said that the differing lines of thinking contributed to the distance between the two opposition leaders.

"The party leader has argued time and again that Chat Thai is viewed as a party which always wants to be in the government and does not know how to play the roles in the opposition corner and so, the party must prove its political finesse to the public and let the public to choose among political parties in the next general elections," a party source said.

The sources said that attempts to remove Maj Gen Pramarn could actually be traced back to a party seminar some two years ago in Cha-am, Petchaburi during which Singburi MP Pol Lt Gen Sueb Pongsuwan proposed that the party should create a new position of party chairman. The aim of the move, as Pramarn's advocates see it, was to move the party leader to a ceremonial but powerless post and to pave the way for Maj Gen Chatichai to succeed his brother-in-law. However, the proposal was rejected because of the party leader's strong opposition.

Deputy party leader and Buriram MP Dr Anuwat Wattanapongsiri commented: "If we have the post as party chairman, then our party will not be different from the Communist Party of Thailand, not to mention the fact that such a party structure goes against the Political Parties Law."

Party sources said that the chance was low that the campaign would succeed unless the party leader voluntarily bows out. "Most party MPs still respect and back Maj Gen Pramarn as party leader," the sources claimed.

They said that the two prime movers actually had little support in the party and had played very low profiles to earn respect from their colleagues.

As for Maj Gen Chatichai's image, one Chat Thai MP told *The Nation* that the deputy party

leader's clout was still very much behind that of Maj Gen Pramarn. Furthermore, party secretary general Banharn Silapa-archa, one of the most influential figures in the party, still sides with Maj Gen Pramarn. Party sources said that Banharn initially developed conflicts with the youth wing in the party known as the Chat Thai Young Turks in the initial period following the general elections but the soured relations were later patched up with the roles of a troubleshooter who belonged to the Young Turk grouping. "Right now, Banharn is close to the Young Turk grouping and has always consulted with one of the leaders in the faction on various matters," one party source said.

The party sources also said that Maj Gen Chatichai's leverage eroded significantly following the ouster of Col Phon Rerngprasertvit's faction from the party. Maj Gen Chatichai has supported the leader of the Siam Democracy Party (SDP) whose aim was to join the coalition government under Gen Prem's premiership. His role over the controversial SDP leader served to aggravate the relations with Maj Gen Pramarn, according to the sources.

The sources, referring to the power bases of both sides, said that the party was divided into six major factions: Samut Prakarn MP Wattana Assavahem's faction comprising about 10 MPs, Banharn's faction composed of about 20 MPs, Mahasarakham MP Thavich Klinprathum's faction comprising about 10 MPs, the faction led by Prachinburi MP Sanoh Thienthong who has the support of about 10 MPs and the Young Turk grouping comprising over 10 MPs.

The sources said that apart from the Young Turk grouping, Sanoh's faction and Banharn's group also fully support Maj Gen Pramarn as party leader and unless Maj Gen Chatichai's group managed to lobby for support from the wings led by Wattana and Thavich, its chance of overcoming the party leader's support was nil.

Party sources said that Wattana and Thavich had so far not joined the campaign which was participated by only about 20 MPs out of over 90 and before the latest uproar the two party figures still had good relations with the party leader.

THAILAND

VOFA VIEWS REFUGEE PROBLEM

BK050622 Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in English 1500 GMT 3 Sep 85

[Article: "Thailand's Overloaded Burden"]

[Text] A decade after the fall of Saigon, humanitarian problems confronting the people of Indochina remain no less severe. Throughout the Southeast Asian region, there are continuing conflicts and political upheavals resulting in an outflow of refugees and immigrants which challenges the capacity of the international community and the tolerance of many nations, particularly first asylum countries, including Thailand.

One should not be misled that the total movement of people from Indochina has been reduced, taking into account the diminishing flow of boat people from Vietnam in recent years. In fact, for every 10 Vietnamese boat people the United States and other countries resettled in 1984, 8 more came out of Vietnam to take their places. There is no difference between the problem [as it] occurred in the past 10 years and the present time, as some countries in Indochina, namely Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, continue to produce and expel hundreds of thousands of refugees.

As one of the first asylum countries, Thailand has no humane alternative rather than providing sanctuary to those who reach her territory. The country has therefore been confronted with grave problems of refugees and displaced persons from Indochina. Since 1978, the number of displaced persons left in the camps in Thailand has never been below 100,000. It would be quite simple if Thailand had no other groups of displaced persons to deal with. But the fact is that Thailand is also sheltering more than half million displaced persons of Burmese nationals, Yunnanese, Vietnamese of an older generation, and hill tribes. Furthermore, on the western border, about 10,000 Karens who have escaped from fighting into Thailand last year are not able to return to their homeland yet.

With ferocious dry-season offensive in Kampuchea by the occupying Vietnamese resulting in another influx of displaced persons into Thailand, the country is now shouldering a burden far too heavy to sustain. The future trend of refugees and displaced persons seeking asylum in Thailand does not look promising either. There are indications that this year Thailand will have to confront



with more problems taking into account that Indochinese entrants from January to June this year already reached 11,781, while the number of the same period last year was only 8,952. Aggravated by economic hardship in their countries, rates of Indochinese asylum seekers for better living have increased their number in Thailand. On top of the refugee problem, there are many thousands of Thai villagers whose lives and property have been affected and damaged by the Vietnam incursions into Thai territory as well as the fighting along the Thai-Kampuchean border. Becoming refugees on their own land, these affected Thai villagers are entitled to be accorded with protection and assistance from the Thai Government and every party concerned.

Although the Thai Government is fully aware that the magnitude of refugees involvement has created profound security, political, and strategic problems in the country, Thailand still firmly upholds the humane policy of providing assistance to displaced persons in accordance with humanitarian principle. Indochinese displaced persons are permitted to stay temporarily in Thailand before third country resettlement or returning to their homeland under the voluntary repatriation program. The prospect for further resettlement in third countries, however, has become rather dim. Being confronted with economic and social problems of their own, many Western countries feel they can no longer afford to accept more refugees, thus leaving the burden to first asylum countries.

During the first 6 months of this year, the number of refugees resettled in the third countries was 16,064, against 21,038 during the same period last year. In the meantime, third country resettlement has decreased 23.6 percent, whereas the rate of Indochinese entrants to Thailand has increased 31.6 percent. As of July 1985, the total of 128,263 displaced persons remain in the holding centers in Thailand. With the declining rate of acceptance of displaced persons to third countries, it becomes inevitable that Thailand has to adopt a screening measure for displaced persons, particularly the Lao entrants many of whom have escaped into Thailand on account of economic reasons.

In checking all new entrants by the stipulated criteria, ingenuine refugees will be repatriated, while bona fide refugees will be resettled in the third countries at the earliest opportunity under the supervision of the United Nations Commission for Refugees, or UNHCR.

Despite Thailand's insistent humanitarian assistance rendered to the Indochinese refugees and displaced persons, the country has been unfairly blamed by some countries which in fact are directly responsible for the plight of all ill-fated refugees. On many occasions, Thailand was accused of having no sincerity but fabricated intention in helping those affected people. Nevertheless, the fact that Thailand has provided shelters to over 600,000 displaced persons for more than 10 years now must be a strong evidence of Thailand's purely humanitarian intention. On the contrary, the countries which are the root cause of the refugee problem have never donated a single token for humanitarian cause. Instead, they continue to help their installed governments to oppress their people to the extent that living in their homeland becomes intolerable.

In regard to the illegal immigrants from Vietnam, they still escape into Thailand in spite of the orderly departure program, or ODP. As a legal and safe avenue to leaving Vietnam by boat, the ODP has slowly gained its momentum. A total of 65,829 Vietnamese have moved to over 15 countries through this program since 1979. Nevertheless, one should be aware that in most cases the composition of those coming out through the ODP did not agree with priority set by receiving countries. On the contrary, they were arranged according to the interest of Vietnam. It appeared that far fewer than 40 percent of those who have gone to the United States through ODP appear on the lists submitted by the United States to the Vietnamese. As a matter of fact, Vietnam has viewed the program as a means to rid itself of certain unwanted segments of its population--ethnic Chinese and Ameriasian children.

As the world is becoming more and more interdependent, most issues, including those related with refugees and displaced persons, are no longer problems of any particular country. Developed and developing countries alike inevitably have to share the burden incurred by the refugee problem. This particular world issue is apparently too great for any single country to handle. It calls out for international effort and new initiative in dealing with the root cause behind the flow. After all, the exodus of the Indochinese refugee will never cease as long as some countries still uphold their aggressive might-is-right policy and deem they have the right to invade other countries and brutally oppress the people, notwithstanding their individual rights and freedom.

CSO: 4200/1577

THAILAND

EDITORIAL CRITICIZES SRV ON INDOCHINA COMMUNIQUE

Bangkok TONG HUA DAILY NEWS in Chinese 18 Aug 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Vietnam Is Fierce of Mien But Faint of Heart and Is Again Playing a Political Trick"]

[Text] The 11th Biannual Conference of the "three Indochinese countries," directed by Nguyen Co Thach, ended in Phnom Penh on 16 August with the issuance of a joint communique.

The declared "three Indochinese countries" refers to Vietnam, Laos, and the Hanoi-backed Phnom Penh puppet regime.

Judging by the joint communique, Vietnam has not only exhausted its tricks but also has shown that it is fierce of mien but faint of heart. As it can no longer use any new tactics, it has to employ an old political trick that deceives no one.

The main content of the joint communique says that Vietnamese forces in Cambodia will pursue their yearly gradual withdrawals from Cambodia and will complete their total withdrawal by 1990. Second, Phnom Penh is ready to start talks with various khmer groups or individuals, but it says that national reconciliation should be based on the elimination of the Khmer Rouge.

The first point of the joint communique even says that in case the gradual troop withdrawal is taken advantage of to "undermine the peace and security of Cambodia," Vietnam will take appropriate measures to deal with it.

This point means that Vietnam will continue its occupation of Cambodia and does not want to withdraw its troops. Since its occupation of Cambodia in 1978, Hanoi. in order to fool world opinion, played a comical game of a so-called partial troop withdrawal every year and also organized troop withdrawal ceremonies to pretend to be serious about it. However, it has long ago been seen through as a troop rotation. Vietnam withdrew the sick and wounded soldiers and replaced them with strong ones. Although the war of aggression against Cambodia has entered the 7th year, the number of Vietnamese occupation troops in Cambodia still remains at more than 170,000. This time while claiming to gradually withdraw its troops, it says that they will take appropriate measures if the gradual troop withdrawal is taken advantage of. Vietnam makes a confession without duress that if the troops were withdrawn, they can enter Cambodia again at any time, if it is necessary.

The promise of a complete troop withdrawal by 1990 is nothing new and is a trick that can deceive no one. Nguyen Co Thach has said, more than once, that Vietnam will withdraw its troops from Cambodia after 5 to 10 years. It will be 1990 if the troop withdrawal is completed in 5 years, and it will be 1995 if it takes 10 years. General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee Le Duan said during a celebration of the so-called "complete national victory" held in Hanoi on 29 April this year that Vietnam will continue keeping up its war of aggression against Cambodia.

Regarding the second point of the joint communique, although it is the first time that the Phnom Penh regime has suggested talks with various groups or individuals, it has no new intention and is aimed at breaking up the solidarity of anti-Vietnamese factions, dissolving the CGDK, and eradicating the Khmer Rouge finally. It is also used to attack the ASEAN's proposal on "proximity talks" between Vietnam and Democratic Kampuchea to end the Cambodian problem.

The basic elements of the ASEAN's proposal are: withdrawal of all foreign forces (Vietnamese troops) from Cambodia, establishment of UN control and a UN supervisory commission, national reconciliation, and a UN supervised election and exercise of self-determination.

This proposal is in line with the spirit of the resolutions on the Cambodian issue adopted by previous UN General Assembly sessions and is widely supported by the international community. But, Vietnam has flagrantly rejected the proposal, which has exposed its wolfish nature of permanently occupying Cambodia and has caused Vietnam to be isolated in the world.

The conference of the so-called "three Indochinese foreign ministers" calls for a dialogue for the first time between the Phnom Penh regime and various Khmer groups. But it talks ambiguously about ASEAN's new proposal, and is also aimed at extricating itself from international condemnation for its rejection of the ASEAN's proposal on "proximity talks." Its main goal is to ease the pressure on itself from calls for it to implement the UN resolutions by withdrawing its troops from Cambodia unconditionally when the Cambodian issue is discussed again at the upcoming UN General Assembly next month.

The facts show that the war of aggression against Cambodia has caused Vietnam to eat bitter fruit. Its economy has reached a critical point, and its people are facing a difficult life with inadequate nutrition.

Its previous dry-season offensives in Cambodia ended with the loss outweighing the gain. Although it has seized some strongholds of the Khmer patriotic forces during this year's dry season, it cannot inflict any real damage on the effective strength of the guerrilla forces. The rear line is now threatened by the guerrillas, and Phnom Penh has declared a state of emergency to prevent a surprise attack.

The declaration of the 5-year troop withdrawal plan is also obviously to show that Vietnam still has not approached the end to its days in Cambodia. But, the trick of being fierce of mien but faint of heart, cannot deceive anybody. If it does not learn a lesson, and continues keeping on its war of aggression against Cambodia, it will not only be unable to change its fate of being defeated in Cambodia but will also suffer bigger consequences.

THAILAND

EDITORIAL BACKS GENERAL FOR BANGKOK GOVERNOR

Bangkok THE NATION in English 9 Sep 85 p 4

[Text]

**M**ETROPOLITAN Bangkok lost out on a potentially excellent and effective governor when soon-retiring Assistant Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Mana Ratanakoses pulled out of the race for city chief last Friday.

The election for city governor as well as legislators and district councilmen, which has just been announced in the Royal Gazette and is due to be held sometime in late November, is the latest move towards more democracy and gives Bangkok's electorate its first chance in more than ten years to choose the people who would manage the city's affairs.

Hopefully, this should make the office of city governor a much smaller target for criticism and denunciation whenever something goes wrong in the metropolis — like floods for instance.

Being answerable to the people, the elected governor and the city assemblymen and councillors under him are compelled to do a job that would satisfy the electorate (however impossible that is) on pain of being booted out in four years.

Gen Mana would have made a good governor. A clue to the character of the man is his statement: "I think that officials who have retired should make contributions to the country instead of doing nothing after their retirement. Those who are still healthy should do

something for the good of the country."

Words of wisdom. In this age of affluence and technological advances that have enhanced the quality of life, and yes, prolonged it, the retirement age of 60 does not apply anymore.

Many of our decision makers are well into their 60s and some are pushing 70. And everyone of them, without exception, has retained his full faculties and has exhibited the vitality and audacity of youth in steering the country through political and economic hazards, both domestic and international.

The country's armed forces especially, have been the spawning ground of men with the rare qualities of leadership and integrity. Military officers are trained to take command and to get things done.

Our sprawling and increasingly rambunctious metropolis certainly could use men of such calibre. And Gen Mana is such a man.

Due to retire early next month, Gen Mana first gave intimation that he would like to stand in the city's gubernatorial election, in late July. In early August, the Prachakorn Thai Party approached him to run in their ticket because of his strong backing from the masses and the military.

On August 7, he announced that he had signed his resignation and will submit it to Supreme Commander and Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Arthit Kamlang-ek. And soon after, posters went up in Samsen exhorting the populace to elect Gen Mana as city governor.

On August 31, amidst rumours that he had been asked to withdraw his intended candidacy, Gen Man reiterated and reaffirmed his candidanship.

Gen Mana, on September 6, declared that he is not running for city governor because he had previously promised the supreme commander that he would continue working on the project of organizing army reservists for national defence. But he also said he was considering his candidacy in the next general elections.

Asked whether he would then form a political party for retired soldiers, Gen Mana enigmatically answered, "Old soldiers will never die."

Whether by intention or oversight, he failed to complete famed Gen Douglas MacArthur's immortal tribute to soldiers, which ended with "they just fade away."

THAILAND

PREM DESCRIBES LIFE IN SERVICE, ALLIES

Bangkok THE NATION in English 25 Aug 85 pp 9-11

[Exclusive interview with aides on 65th birthday anniversary]

[Text] Prime Minister Gen Prem Tinsulanonda celebrates his 65th birthday anniversary tomorrow in his usually quiet, simple style.

To mark the occasion, the prime minister has given a rare interview about his personal life as a young army officer going through a series of exciting experiences--a story that has never been told with such intimacy before.

General Prem gave the interview to Col Banchorn Chavalsilp in July to be published in a book by his aides led by Col Pairoj Panichsamai to mark the premier's birthday this year. The 100-page book is due to be released next month. It is entitled: "From the Hilltop..."

Here, THE NATION publishes excerpts from the exclusive interview.

Once a soldier, always a soldier, Gen Prem Tinsulanonda might have dreamt of becoming a doctor when he finished Mathayom 8 from Suan Kularb College in 1937. But then...

"I wanted to study medicine at the time. But my parents couldn't afford it. I decided to become a soldier," Gen Prem said.

Tomorrow, Gen Prem celebrates his 65th birthday anniversary. It's time to look back and reminisce.

He entered the Army Technical College on 2 May 1938 as a member of Class Five. There were 55 classmates. With that, life took on a different twist.

General Prem recalled: "The lessons were tough. In the artillery course, for example, we had to make our own calculation mentally. There were no ready-made tables for students like today. We all tried our best to be outstanding students but it was tough going since most of the textbooks were in English which was the common language for other courses as well such as science and mathematics. But when I entered the pre-cadet school, all the textbooks became French. And that was even tougher. Even the best students flunked in the first year because some of them simply couldn't adjust to the new system..."

The young Prem at the time ended up being with the cavalry unit but he had in fact intended to become an artillery officer when he was still at the army school.

"I was in a position to choose, in fact, when I was studying in the third year. I even took up training on how to use the 63 types of artillery. And I was with that for quite some time. But then, the war broke out and everything changed. I finally decided to join the cavalry."

Why had he thought about becoming an artillery soldier? General Prem responded: "Well, everybody wanted to become an artillery officer because the prime minister then, Field Marshal P. (Pibulsonggram) was an artillery soldier. Everybody wanted to be like him. It was a fashionable thing to be. The whole class wanted to join the artillery unit..."

Life as a young pre-cadet student at the time was full of excitement and naturally General Prem could vividly remember many of the anecdotes at the time.

"I began to smoke cigarettes when I was in the second year of the pre-cadet school. We had to do it secretly. And that was the time when we began to learn to drink too although teachers banned us from doing that sort of thing. Friends sneaked in cigarettes and liquor. But there was nothing very serious about it. We simply thought it was a fashionable thing to do. We didn't even know how to smoke a cigarette, mind you. But then, many of us got the habit even after graduation and became army officers."

Not many people might know about this. But General Prem quit smoking only when he became the Second Region Army Commander. "Because it was a busy assignment I decided to kick the habit. And I have not gone back to smoking since..."

When he started to smoke as a young student, it was the "Abdullah" brand which is not available anymore today. "But it was supposed to be smart and fashionable at the time. When the Indochina War broke, and I was an officer, I smoked foreign cigarettes which were still available."

But when the Second World War began there was a severe shortage of cigarettes. And we had to do with anything available, including self-made cigarettes or tobacco wrapped in a piece of paper. When the war was over, American cigarettes began to hit the local market. And I started to smoke Lucky Strike. I stuck with that brand even when I stayed abroad--until I quit smoking. When I was still smoking, it wasn't all that heavy a habit. I consumed at most one pack a day, or less on certain days..."

## ALL ALONE IN BANGKOK:

The young Prem was a provincial boy from the South who ventured into the capital to pursue a new life. It was a lonely life and he could still remember the first day that he stepped into the pre-cadet school, better known as the "Red Fence, Yellow Wall" compound.

"Most other new students had their parents with them on the first day. But I was alone. It was a lonely feeling. But I somewhat felt slightly relieved because there were some friends who had also come from Suan Kularb College. And that somehow helped..."

The weekends and public holidays were a big relief for most students who could leave the school compound and meet relatives in Bangkok or outlying areas. But for the young Prem, things were different.

"In most cases, I didn't leave the school on weekends or holidays — except when friends asked me to go out with them — to visit Dusit Zoo or to see a movie. But I mostly stayed in the school..."

The pre-cadet student's uniform was an attractive and popular feature and most students wore it on holidays to various places of entertainment at the time. "The places included Chalerm Krung Theatre, Nang Lerg or Thonburi. We also went to the Memorial Bridge quite often. These were places provincial kids like us went to. Those from Bangkok went home to meet their parents. For me, I sometimes took a tram with friends and roamed about before returning to the school..."

## CLOSE FRIENDS:

Gen Prem remembers his old friends very well. One of them was named Boonkerd who unfortunately had to leave the school in the second year because he contracted a disease which disqualified him. "That was a sad case indeed..."

Then, there was another close friend named Paderm who later became a pilot for Thai Airways Co. He is now retired. "We used to go everywhere together a lot of times."

There was also Amnuay Thavisin who died sometime ago. Sanan Ronnaritpichai was another close friend. They were cavalry soldiers together. He is also dead.

Deputy Prime Minister Gen Prachuab Soontrangkul became a close friend when they both were officers, having been in the cavalry unit together.

## THE WAR BEGAN:

The so-called "Indochina War" in 1941 between Thailand and France which was occupying Indochina speeded up Gen Prem's graduation. The five-year course was cut down to three because seventeen students from his class were chosen to join the armoured unit. "We were made to command units with soldiers who were mostly reservists under us because the government called up all reservists for the war. I was wearing a pre-cadet student uniform but I was already made a platoon head..."

Even when he went off to the war, he was still a student of the pre-cadet school. But 17 days later, Prem was given the rank of acting sub-lieutenant.

The day every graduating student waits for, to be bestowed the officer's insignia from the army and, most important of all, the conferring of the sword from His Majesty the King, Prem was in Poipet, Kampuchea.

"I was given the star in a foreign country because I had already been given the order to go to Poipet. My direct commander told me to have the star conferred on me for the occasion there. And there wasn't the sword for the occasion either. When we returned to the field camp in the jungle, an officer threw a few swords at us and said: There, take one each. There were three of us, including Gen Somsak Panchamanond, who were to graduate that day. We all picked up a sword each and that must have been the strangest way of being made an army officer..."

It was quite an experience in the battlefield. The new graduate, Acting Sub-Lt Prem was only 21 but some of the reservists under his command were about 25-26. "Some of them frightened me. Some of them were drunk when they reported for duty. I had never had anybody under me before. And I asked myself whether I could really handle the situation. But then, they turned out to be quite cooperative. We managed to stick it out together..."

He spent three months (from January to April, 1941) in the war before returning to Bangkok.

"We came back to Bangkok where we were assigned to the Battalion at Bangkrabue which is where Yothin Burana School is currently located. We were there for about six months when war broke out again..."



Gen Prem recalled that life as a young officer was a mixture of hard work and fun. "The monthly salary was 80 baht then. But I had to share it with some of my brothers and sisters. But I managed to survive on that. We stayed in official living quarters and the daily meal cost about six baht. At that time, the government instructed everybody to wear hats..."

He even remembers taking up a dancing lesson at a school in Bangkunprom in Bangkok. "It was then called standard dancing style. But we realized that we would have to go out to the field again. There was tough drilling even at night. We knew war was at hand..."

That proved to be true. Six months later, Japanese troops landed on Thai soil. This time around, young officer Prem went to fight for the country for four years.

#### **ANOTHER WAR, ANOTHER ASSIGNMENT:**

"We weren't too scared about fighting the war. Perhaps, we were all still very young at the time. We Thais have always been trained and taught to have a high degree of patriotism anyway. It was very obvious to me during the war that everybody was ready to carry out his duty without fear..."

The army then was naturally a far cry from today's. The weapons at the time were few and outdated.

"But the morale and the will to fight were excellent. Everybody was under strict discipline. We followed orders from the commanders very strictly. Every order was complied with. No questions asked. I was very impressed with that. We all loved and respected our senior officers although at that time things could be pretty tough. Junior soldiers got some physical batterings often. But there was no negative reaction — because they realized that they had committed offences..."

Gen Prem cited an example of how soldiers at the time put discipline as top priority in the execution of their duties.

"It was during the Second World War. The time was about three o'clock in the morning. I was instructed to go on patrol. We passed the infantry unit. We had to go through the infantry unit to seize a house in a tambon which was supposed to be a possible entry route for the enemy. It was our first lone patrol unit — by only one

platoon of troops. And there weren't any communications equipment to speak of. There were no maps either. There was only a sketch scribbled by ourselves from information gathered from villagers and nearby units. We had four machineguns, three of which were placed at the firing posts and the other one with the reservists. I checked the positioning of our troops in that village where we had picked an abandoned house as our base.

"It was about 10.00 at night the following day when I had finished the checking up. I didn't feel sleepy, perhaps because of the concern that we were all alone there. Perhaps, it was out of excitement. I inspected the area until about midnight. The soldiers in my platoon didn't go to sleep either. They asked me why I had stayed up. I told them I wasn't sleepy and that they should go to sleep. But they said they wouldn't sleep if I didn't. As a result, nobody had any sleep the whole night. The next morning, we got the instruction to pull out.

"About one hour after we withdrew, the enemy struck the village..."

#### **LESSONS FROM INDOCHINA WAR:**

The so-called Indochina War came as the first test for the Royal Thai Army which had undergone a modernization programme ordered by King Rama V. And the war taught Thailand many lessons.

Gen Prem recalls: "The first lesson was the unity of the Thai people all over the country to demand the return of our territories. It was the kind of unity that was vital and impressive. The second lesson was that although we didn't have a civilian affairs system as we do today, we managed to get overwhelming support from the civilians — or the public as a whole. We were given all sorts of food supplies from the people from everywhere."

He said that the importance of logistic support wasn't well appreciated at the time but the war offered a very good lesson. "In terms of operations, we were rather well-versed because of the adoption of the French system but the logistics side was far from satisfactory. Fortunately, the Indochina War was short-lived. That's why we didn't face the problems of shortage of equipment and weapons. Besides, our communications system was far from adequate. We were still using flag signals and light signals..."

He said the people in general, however, were very supportive. "We moved our troops from Bangkok to Aranyaprathet by train. And all along the route, the people on both sides were very warm with their reception. When we got down at Aranyaprathet, our morale had been clearly boosted considerably."

Gen Prem spent about eight months in peace time before he was given another assignment in 1942. This time it was the Second World War. "This time, I went away for four years and there were more lessons of life to be learned..."

Gen Prem was made leader of a platoon which was originally assigned the role of a reservist unit for the Northern Army commanded by Luang Seri Rengrit with base in Lampang and was later moved to Chiang Rai as we advanced our troops while the various units were stationed in Lampang, Chiang Rai, Chiang Tung and Payak.

"I was assigned to the unit in Chiang Tung. And for four years, I was assigned back and forth in that area. There was no fighting as a cavalry man at all because the cavalry units at the time were serving only as a back-up force. I was an armoured cavalryman but the terrain there just wasn't for that sort of operation. Soldiers were assigned on horseback to do patrol. There were four battalions of equestrian soldiers in the whole unit there..."

It was a time of shortage and everything had to be carried out under the condition of scarcity. Oil was carried in bamboo containers because there were no tanks. The soldiers on the move were not told specifically where to set up their temporary operation bases. "So, we ended up in a wat everytime we spotted one along the way," Gen Prem recalled.

There were no medicines and everybody had to help himself. "I saw many of my soldiers die of malaria because there were no medicines," he said.

#### **MY FATHER MUST HAVE MISSED ME:**

A young officer like Prem at the time simply was too busy. And he said he didn't get in touch with home often enough. "It was even difficult to write home because there were no mailboxes like today. Once in a long while, when I could take leave, I did go home to the South. During the four-year stint in the assignment in the North, I managed to go home to Songkhla only once. I didn't want to take leave too often because I was concerned with soldiers under me. There were 40 of us together. My father must have missed me and must have been quite worried about me. But there just

wasn't the time for me to see him often enough..."

From Gen Prem, life away from home has always been the norm. "It was a constant feeling of being isolated from home. But then, I always told myself that I could die any day. So, I'd better do my best in performing my duty. I never thought of saving up money for the future. All I thought about was how to take good care of my soldiers..."

#### **FIRST TRIP ABROAD:**

After the war, Gen Prem's career in the army rose gradually. He won a RTA scholarship in 1953 to study at the United States Army Armour School in Fort Knox, Kentucky.

His first experience on a commercial aircraft is still being told by the prime minister.

"I went on a Pan Am flight. I didn't know that there was first class and economy class. The government issued a first-class ticket for me and two other students who had also won scholarships. We could speak some English and we were far from fluent in the language. After the plane took off, an air stewardess came to ask whether we wanted a drink. We all shook our heads. For one thing, we didn't quite understand what she was talking about. Secondly, we were rather scared because we didn't have the money to pay for drinks which must be quite expensive. Finally, she told us that since we were in the first class, we wouldn't have to pay for the drinks. That's when we started to drink and eat our hearts out..."

That wasn't the end of the first adventure abroad. The plane was supposed to land in New York but for some technical reasons, the flight was diverted to Washington. We were supposed to be received at New York. So, when we landed in Washington, there was nobody there to see us.

"The three of us waited anxiously at the airport until a farang came to ask where we were supposed to be going. And we told him we didn't quite know — that we only knew that we were in the US to pursue our studies.

"He asked us for the name of the school. We said we didn't know the name either. He laughed heartily and asked whether he could be of any help. We asked him to get us a car to take us to the Thai embassy. He got us a taxi. It was a long journey — and we suspected at one point that the cabbie might be trying to take us somewhere else. However, we ended at the embassy. But then, we were told there that we had to go to the army attache's office. So, we got into another taxi. We saw a man with a dog in front of the house which was the military attache's office. We waited him and explained our problem. He was a Mom Chao

but we didn't know his name. He said he will get some Thai military students here to take us to the hotel.

"As it turned out, the Thai army students who came to help us out were the present First Army Region Commander (Lt Gen Pichitr Kullavanijaya) and the current director of the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy (Maj Gen Vichit Sukmak). They were both students on scholarship waiting to be admitted to West Point. They took us to a hotel where we stayed for two to three days and arranged for us to take a flight from Kentucky. That was exciting enough. I was then a major aged 32. When I told my farang friends that I was 32, they wouldn't believe it, saying that I must be only 20-odd years old..."

Life at Fort Knox was hard work. "The military lessons themselves weren't too difficult. But the language was a problem. However, we managed to get through..."

Gen Prem spent nearly one year in the United States for the military education and returned to Thailand in early 1954.

Upon returning to Thailand, Gen Prem was made a teacher at the Armoured School at Kiakkai in Bangkok but, as the premier put it, it wasn't his cup of tea. "We all wanted to be army commanders. But since there were only a handful of foreign graduates, I was assigned to be a teacher. In a way, it was a valuable experience since I was using the American system which was still a rare thing in the military circles here at that time. I ended up with a lot of students. But if I could choose, I would still prefer to be a unit commander than a teacher," Gen Prem said.

At the time, he was also appointed commander of the Fifth Cavalry Battalion under the Second Cavalry Regiment while keeping his teaching job.

"The most challenging post is, in my mind, a battalion commander. There's a lot to do. As a company chief, it may be somewhat narrow. A regiment commander has too big a scope of responsibility and in that position, one tends to deal with the policy level, handling supervisory tasks in most cases. But a battalion commander gets everything. It poses the biggest challenge in a military career," Gen Prem said.

#### **RIISING TO THE TOP ON HORSEBACK:**

Since then, Gen Prem's life has been closely attached to the cavalry unit, especially when the Cavalry Centre was set up and he was named assistant commander of the Armoured Cavalry School, Cavalry Centre on March 10, 1958.

Ten years later, on Oct 1, 1968, Gen Prem was named the top commander of the country's Cavalry Force. He was then 48 years old. Gen Prem gave himself totally to the development of the country's cavalry force which almost rose from scratch. As Maj Gen Chao Kongpoolsilp, an aide to Gen Prem at the defence ministry, recalls: "Pa became known among the cavalrymen when he was deputy commander. He began to get in touch with the people under him and started to improve on the teaching system. He injected life into the system..."

And it was at the Cavalry Force that Gen Prem was first called "Pa Prem."

Maj Gen Prachong Saibuakaew explained that it had been the tradition among cavalrymen to address the top man as "father" or "pa," since horses do have a sense of father and baby horses etc...

As Maj Gen Chao said: "Pa Prem was fond of playing golf. But if anybody asked him to play golf with him during working hours, he would be scolded. He would tell the person to always bear in mind that work comes first and golf could be played anytime."

Gen Prem left the Cavalry Centre to become Deputy Second Army Region Commander on Oct 1, 1973. He was to tackle one of the country's most sensitive problems in the country's most vulnerable areas — communist insurgency in the Northeast.

#### **PREM TO THE NORTHEAST:**

Gen Prem was to say later that the assignment that he was the most proud of was when he was posted to the Northeast.

"As soon as I received the order to become deputy regional commander of the Second Region, I went up front—in Sakhon Nakhon which was the forward command. It was my decision then that I would not return to Bangkok and would not want to be based in the rear base in Korat because I wanted to work right up in the frontline. I would come to Bangkok only when it was my turn to be assigned in the Royal guards. Besides that, I wasn't going to be in either Bangkok or Korat..."

He was so often absent from the Korat headquarters in fact that when he went there one day with his aide (at that time Capt Ood Buangbon), the guard on duty wouldn't let him in.

"I wasn't wearing a military uniform then. The guard asked me whether I had any ID card. I told him I didn't have any. He said I couldn't get in. Ood was probably running out of patience at the time. He told me to tell the guy who I was. Ood told him this is your deputy commander. The guard obviously didn't know me because I had rarely gone to Korat..."

## WAR AGAINST INSURGENTS:

After Gen Prem was posted to the Northeast, he began earnestly to tackle the insurgency issue. After setting up the local village defence volunteer corps, he began to work on the "politics-before-military" policy.

"It was about 1975. I was just named commander of the Second Army Region. Gen Harn (Leenanond) also helped in formulating the plan. Gen Arthit Kamlang-ek, who was then responsible for Infantry 23 in the Northeast, was also instrumental in implementing the policy," he said.

Gen Prem admitted that when the policy was first launched, it took a lot of hard work to change the deep-rooted negative attitude of the local villagers.

"I told my soldiers that they must be patient when villagers criticized them. Let them release their anger. Let them express their true feelings. Let them tell us how they had been bullied — how their daughters had been molested and how their sons had been unfairly charged. We told the villagers that we were beginning to understand and that we would seriously tackle the matter. We pledged that we would not stand still. Luckily, in the Northeast, the villages were close together and that helped us implement our policy more effectively..."

The villagers started to take up defence training and the military started to become more understanding and friendly. "There weren't too much costs involved since the villagers come to us for training after breakfast and lunch. All we had to pay for were some takraws, ping-pong, football... to mix games and defence training together..."

Gen Prem said the military also involved police and local administrative officials in the campaign to wipe out the negative image from the minds of the villagers.

"It took a lot of patience, of course. We went in to help the local schools, defend their villages, farming and other activities..."

He cited a village known as Baan Kamrod in the Northeast. "Believe it or not, it took us seven months to visit that village constantly to hear the military being scolded almost every day. At first, the villagers there wouldn't let us move in. They told us to set up our base outside the village while they scolded us every day.

They asked us why we had come to them and why we should interfere with them. But we chose an officer who was very patient. He went into the village to help them do farming. He was chased away by the villagers. But the next day, he went back again. He got all the battering. But with patience and hard work, the villagers there finally agreed to set up their village defence corps and agreed to receive training from us. Recently, when I met some Northeastern people and asked about Baan Kamrod. They told me the village is still very cooperative..."

Gen Prem says that people in the Northeast are reasonable and always willing to listen to logical reasoning.

Gen Prem says the tenure as the Second Army Region Commander was probably the proudest assignment in his career. "I feel I was able to do things that I set out to accomplish and I am proud that I could really help out the villagers..."

He said he hadn't realized until he was assigned to the Northeast that the villagers there were really poor. "I would not have believed that there were Thais who were that poor but once I was there, I discovered the truth..."

## TIME TO LEAVE NORTHEAST:

Oct 1, 1977 saw Gen Prem leaving the Northeast after having devoted years of hard work to help resolve the insurgency problem in that part of the country. He was named assistant army commander-in-chief — and was given the rank of a full general.

"When I received the transfer order, I went around to the villagers to say goodbye — to tell them that our policy had worked to a certain extent not because of me or the governors — but because of them. I tried to tell them that the success or failure of the policy will eventually rely on them," he said.

Gen Prem returned to Bangkok once again. But he admitted that he never really enjoys life in the capital. "My feeling is that there are already enough people taking care of Bangkok. It is my intention that when I retire, I will go out of Bangkok — to Korat or somewhere else..."

One year after his transfer to Bangkok, Gen Prem became the top army man. That was on Oct 1, 1978 when he was appointed army commander-in-chief.

**"I was in a way proud that I was promoted to a position I had never dreamt of achieving at all. I never thought I would climb to this post..."**

**Gen Prem was due to retire as army chief on Sept 30, 1980 but the Cabinet extended his term for one more year.**

**Today, Gen Prem, despite his top political post, remains a committed soldier.**

**"I will always be a soldier, It's in the blood. Once a soldier, always a soldier."**

**The first day he became a soldier was an impressive occasion. But the day he left the military career was even more impressive.**

**"I told the Defence Ministry that I wanted to leave on Aug 26 (1981). But at that time, I was also defence minister. The sense of attachment was still very strong. It didn't feel like I was leaving at all. And I was still in the defence ministry..."**

*On May 2, 1938, a young boy from Songkhla reported himself to Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy, somewhat nervously, perhaps thinking that the military profession might be a good career.*

*Forty three years later, the same person stood on a platform at the same academy, wearing his general's uniform and the black beret of the cavalry unit. He returned the salute from the long lines of students. The statue of King Rama V formed the background on that emotional moment.*

*They all took the same, deafening oath:*

*"I shall protect Your Majesty's heritage with my life..."*

*Gen Prem Tinsulanonda officially left the army service on Aug 26, 1981...*

CSO: 4200/1580

THAILAND

MILITARY-RUN CORPORATION'S CAPABILITIES, BACKERS GOALS

Bangkok THE NATION in English 2 Sep 85 p 4

[Text] **IT STARTED with a whimper but the Muanchon Pattana Co (Mass Development Co) has now surfaced officially — and the list of business activities of the company founded and operated mainly by retired military officers is nothing but ambitious.**

When the story first emerged early this year that the Reservists for National Security Project under the Internal Security Operation Command wanted to form a company to do business as a way of earning sufficient revenue to move the scheme along, the initial mention was that MDC will be serving as the "central marketing arm" for the country's two major whisky groups — Sura Maharas and Surathip.

But now, Managing Director, ACM Prapa Vejpan, has come out publicly to say that the business lines to be covered by the company will be as wide ranging as exporting pig export, rice trading, and even arms sales and production.

"China has approached us to sell arms to Thailand through our company. We are coordinating the matter and discussing the principle of the offer. We are covering such wide-ranging business activities in fact that we just don't have the personnel to handle everything," ACM Prapa told *Prachachat Business* in an interview.

As he told it, when the company was first set up, the idea was to be engaged in rice trading to help the reservists project. The whisky business came later, he said.

Selling arms alone may not be enough. The company is now considering a project to produce arms locally. But the firm won't do everything. "We will have private companies supply us with parts instead of us buying all the parts from abroad. Cutting out the middlemen would mean that we could get arms at lower costs.

ACM Prapa said that he himself had had experience in running plants producing explosives and rockets. "Several problems are involved and certain official regulations do serve as impediments. But as a private company, we have the flexibility to do more," he said in the interview.

**WHISKY DEAL: 50 STANG PER BOTTLE**

The MDC managing director said the two major whisky companies have agreed in principle on the role of MDC serving as the joint marketing arm. The principle is that both sides will pay 50 stang for each bottle sold. The five-year draft agreement is undergoing some slight wording changes. "Only Hong Thong, Mekhong and Kwangthong will be covered by the deal," he explained.

MDC's role will be to prevent both liquor giants from selling above the government-regulated prices and to halt selling of liquor across the specified zones and to put a halt to illegal liquor being produced and sold.

MDC will appoint a representative, and in most cases a retired military officer, to supervise the task. He said in the Northeast, Lt Gen Pak Meenakanit will be in charge while in the South, Maj Gen Pricha Chavipat will be handling the matter. "In the North, we are approaching the current regional commander, Lt Gen Tiab Kromsuriyasak, who is due to retire at the end of September, this year. In the central plains, we will approach Lt Gen Charu Chatikanont, director of the territorial defence department who is also due to retire this year," he said.

Managing Director Prapa said that all is probably set in October to start things moving so that all the regional representatives of the firm will coordinate with agents of Mekhong and Surathip.

"For Surathip, which has 12 distilleries all over the country, we may have to appoint a representative at each distillery or province. At the central level, we would have our coordination

system while at the provincial level, we will also set up a proper coordination system," he added.

ACM Prapa stressed that the deal had not been clinched through the use of military influence. "We have our own pride and dignity. We don't want to pressure anybody. We have our own plans. We have the advantage of knowing the inside systems of certain areas and we may be of help to certain companies. But we are not demanding too much. We want to protect the government interests as well. For example, if we were to sell arms, we will sell them at lower prices. We don't just go after profits. We want quality products for the government. And companies which approach us to serve as the marketing arm can't jack up prices anyway they like," he said.

The company, registered with the commerce ministry on Jan 4, this year, has a registered capital of ten million baht with 25% paid-up capital so far. ACM Prapa explained that the rationale behind the establishment of the company was to earn revenue to support the reservists for national security project which offers regular training to personnel in case of a national emergency. The training programmes require vast expenses and the government has not been able to come up with the required budget. Hence the setting up of the business firm to support the plan, which is backed strongly by Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda.

ACM Prapa said when the two major liquor groups began to get involved in some very fierce competition, the fear of collapse of one of the two was raised. He said Sura Maharas has a contract with the Industrial Works Department, Industry Ministry, while Surathip entered into different contract with the Excise Department, Finance Ministry. And there certainly are divergent clauses and practices between the two.

"It has been suggested that the two contracts should come under one ministry but that can't be accomplished overnight. The move could be carried out only if the contracts expire. Meanwhile, they thought about setting up a neutral company to regulate the sale of the two groups," ACM Prapa said.

"It so happened that our company was set up just at that time. And they asked us to see how much we could do. That's when we began drawing up an agreement with both groups to work out the most practice compromise formula. We are now at the final stage, waiting to set the date for the signing of the agreement," the MDC managing director said.

He said since Sura Maharas Co is a public firm, its executives had to seek consent from all parties concerned. And that would take sometime. Besides, the draft has to be approved by the Industrial Works Department as well.

"If everything works out fine, the signing of the agreement should take place before the end of September," he said.

Under the proposed contract, MDC must be able to take over the task one month after signing — and that's early November. The company is now setting up nationwide coordination network to undertake the job.

Under the plan, each group will maintain its own agents around the country "unless when a certain agent goes against the rules in which case we may propose replacement of the agent."

ACM Prapa said the company must try its best to be neutral and impartial in carrying out the task.

Will the whole income from business go to the reservists project? "No, not all. We have to assess the requirements. Part of the income must go to business tax. And liquor business tax is 6% while corporate tax is 40%. We don't get exemptions over those items. There are laws governing assistance to the reservists project or charity organizations. We can't offer more than 1% of income. We will conduct our activities just like a business firm," he said.

MDC will try to diversify its businesses to cover as many areas as possible. And as Managing Director ACM Prapa put it, contacts have been coming in. Tour Royale, a cargo transport firm has also been in touch. Charoen Phokpan Group and the Processed Food Organization as well as Thai International have also discussed with MDC over the transport of processed pork and live pigs to Singapore. So far, three shipments have been flown to Singapore. And if the deal proves successful, that will become another major business activity for MDC as well.

Asked about reports that Surathip and Sura Maharas had in July put up the first amount of money for MDC, ACM Prapa didn't comment directly on the question. Instead, he said: "That was to help us out on an initial period. We have limited fund for investment. Our office here is a temporary outfit. We are looking for a permanent site."

ACM Prapa explained that the company will also sell rice to help military families. Paddy will be purchased at guaranteed price to be processed at mills under the company's contracted group. He said Rice and Engineering Co will construct ricemills to compete with Japanese-built ricemills at a more economical costs. We are trying to explore foreign markets for mills such as India, Burma and Nigeria. "We are also trying to expand our markets for rice," he said.

ACM Prapa said MDC's philosophy is to try to prevent monopoly in various business fields. "So, some people may not like our intervention. But we will follow the proper principles. We are looking into breaking the monopoly of several areas but those have to be kept confidential. We won't do things drastically. We will try to follow the middle path," he said.

MDC has become official and it's a new business venture with a difference. Naturally, the formation of the company by retired and some active military officers has attracted much attention. The names of the initial shareholders offer an interesting picture of the composition of the company. They include Lt Gen Chalerm Hinchiranant, ACM Prapa, Gen Sueb Akranukroh, Gen Mana Ratanakoses, Gen Banchob Bunnag, Lt Gen Chuthai Saengtaveep, Lt Gen Vanchai Chitchamnong, Lt Gen Suraphol Bannakitsophon, Lt Gen Tiap Kromsuriyasak, Lt Gen Charas Vongsayant, Maj Gen Laporn Siripalaka, Maj Gen Tem Suwantemi, Maj Gen Sanit Srisiri, Lt Gen Chanai Karunvanij, Lt Gen Pisith Hemabutr, Lt Gen Chaovalit Yongchaiyuth, Lt Gen Pichitr Kullavanijaya, Lt Gen Charuay Vongsayant, Maj Gen Panya Kwanyoo and Mr Tatri Prapapan.

THAILAND

PROFILES OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS

Bangkok THE NATION in English 27 Aug 85 p 3

[Text]

**Maj Gen Ruamsak  
Chaikomin**

THE deputy commander of the Third Army Region was promoted to commander of the Third Army Region.

Maj Gen Ruamsak was born on April 23, 1926 and is due to retire next year. A native of Kanchanaburi Province, he completed secondary school in the province. He entered King Chulachomklao Military Academy in Class 7 together with Lt Gen Phisit Haemabutr, who is the commander of the Second Army Region, and Air Marshal Prayad Disyasarin, director of Air Force Operations.

Maj Gen Ruamsak had undergone training at the Army Staff College and National Defence College.

Before taking the post of deputy commander of the Third Army Region in October 1982, he was commander of the Fourth Division (Parachutist), deputy commander of the division, commander of Chiang Mai Military Circle and

commander of the Fourth Infantry Division.

He and his wife Mrs Vilai have five children.

**Lt Gen Suraphol  
Bannakijsophon**

THE assistant army chief-of-staff (logistics supply) was promoted to deputy army chief-of-staff.

Lt Gen Suraphol was born on January 5, 1927 and is due for retirement in 1987. He was in the Army Preparatory School, Class 5 together with Supreme Commander and Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Arthit Kamlang-ek.

He finished the 36th class of the Army Staff College and Staff College in Class 7.

Among major positions he has held are trainer for operations of the Artillery Division, chief of staff of the Artillery Division and deputy commander of the Second Army Region.

He became assistant chief-of-staff in October last year. He and his wife Mrs Praphai have two children.

**Lt Gen Kamhaeng  
Chantavirat**

THE newly-appointed assistant army commander-in-chief was born on April 19, 1926 and completed his high schooling at Amnuay Silpa School before entering the Army Preparatory School and graduated in the so-called "Class 5."

He also went through the Army Staff College and staff training in the Philippines.

Among the important posts he has held are military attache in Japan and commander of the Army Intelligence Department.

He became assistant army chief-of-staff for intelligence in October last year.

**Lt Gen Chuthai  
Saengthaveep**

NEWLY-APPOINTED Army Deputy Commander-in-Chief Lt Gen Chuthai Saengthaveep has been in the army service for 36 years, starting his career as a company chief of the Anti-Aircraft Artillery Battalion.



Born on January 8, 1926, Lt Gen Chuthai finished Matayom 6 at Amnuay Silpa School and later continued his studies at Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy and was one of the Class 5 graduates.

He also studied at the Faculty of Economics, Thammasat University before becoming a student of the Armed Forces Staff College and the National Defence College.

Lt Gen Chuthai had been in the Anti-Aircraft Artillery Battalion for nine years and finally became deputy commander of the battalion before he was promoted as major and transferred to become a division head of the Adjutant-General's Department.

With the higher rank of lieutenant colonel, he was moved to the Policy and Planning Division of the Supreme Command's Directorate of Joint Personnel.

He was again transferred back to the Army and was attached to the Anti-Aircraft Artillery Division.

He was promoted as major general in 1978 and became deputy army chief-of-staff for intelligence and deputy army chief-of-staff in 1982 and 1984 respectively.

Lt Gen Chuthai and his wife Mrs Sarasiri have three children.

#### **Lt Gen Akkaphol Somrube**

A NATIVE of Ayudhya, the 60-year-old general has a long record of military service. He belongs to the Class 5 graduates of the Army Preparatory School which includes such big names in the military establishment as Supreme Commander Gen Arthit Kamlang-ek and Deputy Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Thienchai Sirisamphan.

Since Lt Gen Akkaphol was born on October 29, 1925 he still has one more year left before his mandatory retirement.

He attended the Army Intelligence School, the Artillery School and then the Army Staff College.

Among the early posts he held were platoon commander of the Second Battalion of the Fourth Artillery Regiment and later platoon commander of the First Battalion of the Seventh Artillery Regiment.

In 1955, he was assistant officer for operations and training of the Seventh Artillery Battalion, before being moved to the Army Intelligence Department. He subsequently became military attache to South Korea and later chief-of-staff and deputy commander of the Territorial Defence Department between 1980 and 1981.

In 1982, he became commander of the Artillery Centre and the next year assistant army chief-of-staff for personnel — the post he is currently holding.

He and his wife Mrs Chamchorn have no children.

#### **Lt Gen Wanchai Ruangtrakool**

LT GEN Wanchai Ruangtrakool, the Army's new deputy chief-of-staff, had been a classmate of top army officer Lt Gen Chavalit Yongchaiyuth at Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy and the Armed Forces Staff College.

He was one of the only 24 students of Class 1 of Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy. A few other students in the same class included Lt Gen Sunthorn Kongsompong and Lt Gen Charuay Wongsayant.

After his return from the war in Korea, young Wanchai was appointed chief of intelligence at the First Division in 1966. One year later, he was permitted by the Army to pursue his studies at the Armed Forces Staff College in the United States.

Two other military officers who were also enrolled in the same college in the US were Lt Gen Somkid Chongpayuha, currently chief of the Army Training Command Department and Lt Gen Charuay Wongsayant, now Assistant Army Chief-of-Staff for civilian affairs.

He taught at the Armed Forces Staff College in Thailand for six years after his return from the US. He was then selected as an intelligence chief for a company fighting in Vietnam.

Lt Gen Wanchai had been attached to several other agencies in the Army including the First Army Region and the Capital Security Command before becoming assistant army chief-of-staff for operations in 1983.

He and his wife Mrs Sarasan have five children.

THAILAND

# HOUSE SPEAKER ON MPS' POOR REPUTATIONS

Bangkok THE NATION in English 8 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] PATTAYA — House Speaker Uthai Pimchaichon yesterday blamed the military's and the public's lack of political consciousness as the major stumbling bloc to the development of democracy in this country.

Uthai was speaking at a seminar over the weekend at the Asia Pattaya Hotel on "Development of Democracy." About 60 prominent politicians and political scientists, including Professor Krerkkiate Pipatseritham and Dr Suchit Bunbongkarn, took part in the academic exercise.

Political scientists, citing the results of public opinion polls, said that people favour democratic growth and that the image of MPs was still negative. MPs were also urged to cultivate political consciousness for the good of the country and to do more homework. The MPs, however, defended themselves, brushing aside the opinion polls as unreliable. Others said academics should conduct a

survey of the public feeling towards the military.

Uthai told the participants that Thai people have a sound knowledge of the democratic system but they still lack the "consciousness" to make contributions to the development of the system. The Thai people, particularly those in the rural areas, are also heavily influenced by local elites in the elections, according to the House speaker.

He charged the military with conducting a systematic campaign to discredit politicians and political institutions. "Military-run" radio stations, for instance, have promoted the line of thinking that the House of Representatives is dominated by what they call capitalists. The broadcasts also underlined other weaknesses in political circles. Every time they report or comment on elections, they play up such negative angles as vote-buying," he said.

CSO: 4200/1580

THAILAND

SHARE FUNDS' VIP INVOLVEMENT, MILITARY LINKS NOTED

Special Operations General

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 10 Aug 85 pp 1, 16

[Article: "Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet Arrested; Athit Orders Case Handled Based on the Law"]

[Excerpts] Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet, the chairman of the board of the MYS Company, and another board member have been arrested. Police arrested these two people on charges of defrauding the people. The army placed him under arrest. An investigation committee has been formed. Athit has ordered that the case be handled based on the laws. The Suppression Division has questioned Chamoy again and discovered another 25 million baht.

At 1830 hours on 9 August, Police Maj Gen Amon Yuktanan, the commander of the Southern Bangkok Metropolitan Police, revealed that police officials had arrested Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet, the chairman of the board of the MYS Company, on charges of defrauding people based on the Act on Loans That Defraud the People. Police went to search his home and, by chance, Maj Gen Chai was there. He said that he had planned to surrender to officials. Police Officials from the Lumpini police station took him into custody and entered this into the station's daily log at 1325 hours.

Police Maj Gen Amon stated that Maj Gen Chai, together with his son, Mr Phongsak Ditsayadet, and Mr Suphonchai Siritwimon, the managing director of the company, had established the MYS Company in November 1984 with approximately 300 million baht. The police have evidence showing the amount of money invested and the names of the shareholders. But they have not found any of the money. Mr Phongsak, his son, once worked for Mr Ekkayut Anchanbut, the operator of the Charter Share Fund. But because of Mr Phongsak's lack of experience and extravagant habits and because people within the company were embezzling funds, Maj Gen Chai took over for him on 8-9 July.

Reporters asked whether the police had had to ask permission from the military before arresting this man. Police Maj Gen Amon said that that had not been necessary since he had been arrested in his capacity as the chairman of a private company. He must be questioned based on the criminal code.

The reporters asked what the MYS Company used the money for. Police Maj Gen Amon said that it was just used in a revolving type scheme. It was not invested in anything. His intention was the same as that of Mr Ekkayut, the operator of the Charter Company.

At approximately 1845 hours, Police Maj Gen Amon was informed that Police Maj Withaya Prayunwong, the inspector for investigation at the Thungmahamek police station, had arrested another suspect, Mr Wiwat Phongkason, a member of the board of this company, at Room 2002/87, Flat 2, Huai Khwang. He was turned over to Police Col Sitthichai Phamonbut, the commander of the Metropolitan Police 10, for interrogation.

Mr Wiwat said that he knew Mr Ophat Thienphaibun, a partner in this company, and so he had applied for a job at the company. His boss was named Daeng. His job was to pick up and deliver documents or drive Mr Ophat about. He said that he did not own any shares in this company.

Mr Wiwat also said that Mr Banhan Thienphaibun, the brother of Mr Ophat, was a major shareholder. Mr Banhan frequently held meetings with Mr Phongsak and Maj Gen Chai at the Imperial Hotel. He said that he never attended these meetings.

A news report stated that the police are now looking for the two other suspects, that is, Mr Banhan and Mr Ophat Thienphaibun. The Lumphini police station turned Maj Gen Chai over to Maj Tui and Lt Thawikit, officers from the Office of the Secretary, RTA, at 1825 hours. He is being held at the Provost Marshal Battalion on Yothi Lane, Bangkok Metropolitan. As for the two safes found by the police when they searched the company office, the larger safe did not have any goods or valuables in it. The smaller safe contained only a key.

Maj Gen Naritdon Detchapradit, the secretary of the army, said that Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet was attached to the Special Operations Center. He had established the MYS Company, which had gone bankrupt. Later on, people came and complained to the army. In June, the army formed a committee to investigate this matter. The chairman of this committee is Lt Gen Sawat Bunyamanop, an officer on special assignment to Army Headquarters.

Maj Gen Naritdon said that the investigation has not yet been completed. As for what will happen, that depends on the investigation committee. After the investigation has been completed, the results will be submitted to the Army Headquarters before further action is taken.

"Everyone who has suffered losses should make a statement to the police so that the case can be prosecuted. Some people have already made statements to the police," said Maj Gen Naritdon.

Reporters asked what will happen if Maj Gen Chai is guilty. Maj Gen Naritdon said that this depends on what he is guilty of. At present, we do not know the results of the investigation. If the police want to question him, they must state the charges. The army must act in accord with the agreement between the Ministry of Interior and the army.

Reporters asked whether he would be suspended from his duties. "I do not know. This case is still under investigation. We still don't know whether he is guilty of anything. But if he is, he will be suspended from his duties. And if the police have evidence on which to base a case, he can be suspended. If the court finds him guilty, he will be dismissed from government service," said Maj Gen Naritdon.

That afternoon, Maj Gen Naritdon stated that Maj Gen Chai has now turned himself over to police officials. The police will send a letter to the army to have the army come pick him up and place him under detention. Whenever the police want to interrogate him, they can send a letter requesting to see him. The army will appoint a legal affairs officer to join the police in interrogating him.

"This has been reported to Gen Athit Kamlangek, the RTA CINC. He gave his permission to go ahead with this and said that officials are to handle this according to the law. At present, Maj Gen Chai is still just a suspect. The army is holding him for further handling of the case," said the secretary of the army in conclusion.

#### Military Jurisdiction Noted

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 10 Aug 85 pp 1, 20

[Article]

[Excerpt] On the morning of 8 August, Police Maj Gen Sawaeng Thirasawat, the deputy commissioner of the Commissioner's Office of the Metropolitan Police for investigation, and Police Maj Gen Amon Yuktanan, the commander of the Southern Bangkok Metropolitan Police, went and searched the office of the MYS Company at 86/15 Withayu Road, Bangkok Metropolitan. This company had engaged in share fund activities and then gone bankrupt, creating problems for many shareholders. The Suppression Division could not handle this matter and so the Police Departemnt turned this case over to the metropolitan police. The police seized many documents. They did not find the board members, most of whom have the last names "Ditsayadet" and "Thienphaibun." The chairman of the board is Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet, an officer who is attached to the Army Operations Center. Mr Phongsak Ditsayadet, his son, is the managing director. He is being held at the Bangkok Metropolitan Special Prison on charges

of passing bad checks worth several million baht. Later, the police arrested Mr Suphonchai Sirisiwimon, a member of the board. As for Maj Gen Chai, a letter will be sent to his commanding officer asking that he be turned over to the police for further handling of the case, as has already been reported.

At 0900 hours on 9 August, as the head of the investigation section, Police Maj Gen Amon Yuktanan, the commander of the Southern Bangkok Metropolitan Police, led members of the team investigating the MYS share case to the company office at 86/15 Withayu Road. This is a four-story building with double arches. The building is owned by Lady Sumali Chatikawanit. She rented it to Mr Phongsak Ditsayadet for 30,000 baht a month. The MYS Company used the first floor of the building for public relations activities and for making telephone calls. The accounting office was located on the second floor. The third floor was divided into three offices--two finance offices and a large office where Maj Gen Chai and Mr Phongsak worked. The fourth floor served as a storage area. When the police officials went to the third floor, they found Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet waiting for them outside his office. He was wearing a white long-sleeved shirt and grey pants. Police Maj Gen Amon and the members of his team greeted him, took him into the office and closed the door. They asked the reporters and photographers to wait outside. They came out 20 minutes later but did not say anything to reporters.

Another search of the rooms did not turn up any further evidence. Ten policemen were ordered to remove the two safes. These policemen worked very hard to carry the smaller safe, which was 2 feet high and 20 inches wide, down to the 1st floor. They were not able to move the larger safe, which was 30 inches high and 20 inches wide. They had to call in six workers from the Ratchawong pier, who had no trouble lifting the safe. The police could not open the safes since only two people, Mr Ophat Thienphaibun, who had fled, and Mr Phongsak Ditsayadet, who was in jail at the Bangkok Special Prison on bad check charges, knew the lock combinations.

When they conducted another search, the police found approximately 400 contract forms and approximately 500 receipts. Police Maj Gen Amon told reporters that Maj Gen Chai had surrendered in order to fight the charges. Initially, Maj Gen Chai said that he was not involved in this. When his son was arrested, he tried to help solve the problem. But he couldn't help since 25 shareholders who were owed 8 million baht filed charges with the Suppression Division. Another 5 shareholders who were owed 2 million baht filed charges at the Lumpini police station.

At 1230 hours, Police Maj Gen Amon Yuktanan took Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet from the office to the Lumpini police station, which was being used as a temporary office for handling this share case. They stopped at a restaurant in the park before going to the police station. He was

taken to the office of the chief inspector and interrogated in private. During this period, officials went and got a locksmith to open the two safes. The locksmith, Mr Thawatchai Saewong, was from the Gold Safe Company. After trying for a rather long time, he could not open the safes and so the police went and got a new locksmith.

The MYS Company was founded by four people. Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet, who was then a colonel, was the chairman of the board. His son, Mr Phongsak Ditsayadet, served as the managing director. Mr Ophat Thienphaibun and Mr Banhan Thienphaibun were board members. All four signed their names and affixed the company seal. The company offices were located at 86/15 Withayu Road, Bangkok Metropolitan.

Originally, Mr Phongsak worked for the Charter Interaction Company Ltd. Mr Soemchip Charoenthon, a member of the board of the Soemkit Company Ltd, was a member of the board of this company. He persuaded Mr Phongsak to establish the MYS Executive Business Company Ltd. Mr Phongsak asked Mr Banhan and Mr Ophat to join him in establishing this company. They used their nicknames--Mag, Yu and Sut--to name the company. They began engaging in commodity activities and sought investors, who were offered a rate of return of 8 percent a month, the same rate paid by the Charter and Soemkit companies. Investors were given documents and contracts.

On 5 November 1984, they registered as a company. Col Chai Ditsayadet was listed as a member of the board, too. This gave investors a sense of confidence and so more and more people invested money with the company. The company established 15 teams to mobilize capital. Between November 1984 and April 1985, the company mobilized a total of 226,656,480 baht. On 4 April, Mr Phongsak issued checks to investors, but the bank refused to cash the checks. Because of this, Mr Phongsak had to flee. In April 1985, Col Chai Ditsayadet contacted shareholders and asked them to wait a little while. He told them that he would find Mr Phongsak, his son. He sent a letter to shareholders in the name of the chairman of the company. After that, Mr Phongsak came out of hiding and sent a letter to shareholders. In the letter, he told them that he would pay them their interest in two installments of 4 percent each. But he was not able to pay them their interest since the money had disappeared. Because of this, the shareholders filed charges at the Lumpini police station, the station with jurisdiction. One of those who filed a complaint was Squadron Leader Sunthon Wongsawat, to whom Mr Phongsak had given a check for 3 million baht. Many others who had lost money filed charges, too.

At 1530 hours, Police Lt Sakonrat Thirasawat, the deputy inspector for investigation at the Lumpini police station, brought Mr Phongphichai Prayotphibun, age 37, a locksmith who works for the Thai Chiraphat Company on Sap Road, to open the two safes. At first, he could not get them open since he had not brought along his tools. After going and getting his tools, it took him only a few minutes to open the safes. Maj Gen Chai was present when the safes were opened. The two safes were empty. There were no documents or anything else in them.

At 1630 hours, Lt Suksa Kaeomani, an officer attached to the 1st Provost Marshal Battalion, 1st Army Circle, arrived in a vehicle with the marking 9606 in order to pick up Maj Gen Chai. At about the same time, officials from the Office of the Secretary, RTA, led by Maj Tui Haruanphok and Lt Thawikit Wattana, arrived at the police station in a van, license No 6Y-9066. They went to the chief inspector's office where Maj Gen Chai was being interrogated. At 1825 hours, the two provost marshals took Maj Gen Chai out a side entrance, put him in a brown Peugeot 505 sedan and sped away, almost hitting the car of a man who had come to contact the police. The provost marshals' car and the van drove away so fast that the newspaper photographers who were waiting in front of the police station did not dare follow them.

The police released Maj Gen Chai into the custody of the military based on an agreement between the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Defense in cases in which regular soldiers are involved in criminal cases. When the police arrest a soldier, they have to inform the military so that the military police can come and pick up the suspect. The police do not have the authority to detain regular soldiers who have committed a crime. If the police want to interrogate the suspect, they must arrange a time with the military so that a legal affairs officer from the military can be present at the interrogation. The suspect is detained by the military according to military regulations. In this, consideration is given to the suspects rank and position.

Maj Gen Naritdon Detchapradityut, the secretary of the army, talked with reporters that morning. He said that last April, the army had established a committee, chaired by Lt Gen Sawatdiphong Bunyamanop, an officer on special assignment, to investigate people's complaints that Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet, in his capacity as the chairman of the board of the Executive Business Company Ltd and operator of the MYS share fund, had refused to pay them their interest as agreed. However, this committee has not yet revealed its findings. If it feels that Maj Gen Chai committed a crime, an investigation committee will be formed and he will be suspended from duty during the investigation. Or if people file charges with the police and the police take action, he will be suspended from duty if there is sufficient evidence.

As for the companies that have registered as commodity companies and that purchase goods in advance and serve as representatives for commodity agents, the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Thailand do not have regulations to control crops. They can control monetary transactions only. These companies persuade people to invest in share fund type activities. On the average, they pay interest of 8 percent a month. The police are watching these companies since they are mobilizing money from customers like the share funds. Some are carrying on activities different from those registered with officials.



9 October 1985

On 21 March 1985, the Police Department ordered Police Maj Gen Bunchu Wangkanon, the commander of the Suppression Division, to form a group of police officials to investigate the activities of these companies. This group of police officials includes Police Col Somphong Buntham, the deputy commander of the Suppression Division, Police Col Adison Chintanaphat, the superintendent of Precinct 5, Suppression Division, Police Lt Col Praphan Somkaeo, the deputy superintendent of Precinct 4, Suppression Division, Police Lt Col Samnao Laobut, the deputy superintendent of Precinct 1, Suppression Division, and Police Cpt Khachit Phumrin, the deputy inspector at Section 3, Precinct 1, Suppression Division. At present, this group of officials is monitoring 34 such companies. Another seven companies ceased operations before this team of officials began their work. This is necessary because the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Thailand have not proposed promulgating a law or act to control these companies.

#### Warrant Issued for General's Wife

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 25 Aug 85 pp 1, 20

[Article]

[Excerpt] In the case involving the MYS Executive Business share fund, police officials from the Lumpini police station, which has jurisdiction in this case, arrested Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet, the chairman of the board of this company, and two other board members, that is, Mr Suphonchai Sirisiwisom and Mr Wiwattana Thanaphongkason. However, two other board members, Mr Banhan and Mr Ophat Thienphaibun, are still at large.

On 24 August, Police Lt Col Thepharat Rattanawanit, the chief inspector at the Lumpini police station, told reporters that from questioning people who have suffered losses and people involved, it has been learned that Mrs Chanphen Ditsayadet, the wife of Maj Gen Chai, was involved in this share fund, too. Investigation officials asked the Ministry of Interior for permission to arrest her, and permission was granted on 22 August. But when police officials went to arrest her at her home at 9 Chan Road, Bangkok Metropolitan, they could not find her. It is thought that Mrs Chanphen has fled.

The chief inspector at the Lumpini station said that police have issued a warrant for her arrest. She is being sought and will be charged with defrauding people and violating the Share Act, as have her husband and son.

### General's Wife Disappears

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 26 Aug 85 p 20

[Article: "General's Wife Sought"]

[Text] On 25 Aug, Police Maj Charan Chitapanya, the inspector for investigation at the Lumpini police station, provided reporters with details about the warrant for the arrest of Mrs Chanphen Ditsayadet, the wife of Maj Gen Chai Ditsayadet, the chairman of the board of the MYS Executive Company. She is wanted on charges of conspiring to defraud people and violating the Share Act. From an investigation, it was learned that Mrs Chanphen had collected large sums of money from investors. Before the share fund collapsed, she deposited the money in her own accounts at several banks. When the share fund collapsed, she withdrew all the money from the banks, including money in the savings account of Mr Phongsak Ditsayadet, her son. She was the person who made deposits and withdrawals.

Police Maj Charan said that when police officials question her, they may learn what has happened to the great sums of money invested by shareholders. The police are now making every effort to find her. They are looking everywhere, including the homes of her relatives and friends. They expect to catch her very soon.

A total of 144 people have filed charges against the MYS share fund, with the total amount of money involved being 48,235,000 baht.

### Sitthi Sawetsila Kin Involved

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 23 Aug 85 pp 1, 18, 20

[Article]

[Excerpt] At 1600 hours, Miss Mayura Thanabut, alias Sawetsila, an actress and the daughter-in-law of Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, the minister of foreign affairs, went to see the officer on duty at Section 4, Precinct 2, Suppression Division, in order to file a complaint against Mrs Chamoy Thipso, the operator of an oil share fund involving billions of baht. She had secretly invested in the Mae Chamoy share fund but had not filed charges with the police. She asked for a share of the approximately 70 million baht recovered from Mrs Chamoy.

As she was giving her evidence to investigation officials, word of this leaked out and so reporters and photographers flocked after her. She was afraid that this would generate too much publicity and so she quickly gathered her documents from the desk of the duty officer and fled from the cameras of the reporters.

Investigation officials would not reveal how much money she had invested in the Mae Chamoy fund. By law, such information must be kept secret. It is thought that it was a very large sum. Miss Mayura Thanabut will probably give the police a full report in the near future.

#### Editorial Criticizes Share Fund Reorganization

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 5 Sep 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The Affair at Chittaphawan"]

[Text] On Sunday, 1 September, reports appeared about the activities of a person who is wanted for passing bad checks. Many stories have appeared about her, but to date, police have been unable to find her. The suspect referred to is Mrs Nokkaeo. As for what happened that day, with the help of a well-known monk, she had arranged for people who had invested money in her share fund to convert their loan contracts into shares in a public company since there had been reports that she, too, was involved in oil share fund activities.

Just looking at what happened without considering the reasons, a well-known monk got involved, claiming that he wanted to help those who were experiencing problems. He also gave a sermon to give encouragement to these people. According to reports, approximately 6,000 people attended this meeting.

Considering what happened, it is well known that Mrs Nokkaeo has engaged in illegal activities and that she has fled in order to keep from being arrested by the police. But why is she still at large? Officials have told people about her activities. But she still managed, with the help of this monk, to contact large numbers of people in order to hold a meeting at Chittaphawan in Chonburi Province.

Reports state that she asked the people who had invested large sums to attend this meeting in order to have them bring their loan documents. Because as things are, the borrower could be charged with violating the Share Act. She wanted to convert their loans into an ordinary business investment.

We have brought up this matter in order to inform those who are involved in this about the process of establishing a public company. Based on the law, people can form a new company or transform a private company into a public company. There are many ways to ensure that people are not deceived. But based on these reports, she is trying to transform her company into a public company and get people to convert their contracts in order to protect herself from charges of having violated the Share Act. But officials have issued a warrant for her arrest on other charges.

There are many things that must be done to change a private company into a public company. For example, the original company must be a type of company that can be transformed. Also, this must be approved by shareholders at a meeting. The company must inform the shareholders of the time and place of the meeting. Those who are considering converting loan contracts into shares must be informed of these things. Government officials will help explain things and check matters to help prevent people from being cheated. But in this case, these things were not done.

Why haven't the police been able to catch Mrs Nokkaeo, who has been accused of a crime and for whom a warrant has been issued? Clearly, there are many people who are protecting her and who are involved.

11943

CSO: 4207/293

THAILAND

SEMINAR ON TRADE UNION, STATE ENTERPRISES PRIVATIZATION

Bangkok THE NATION in English 13 Sep 85 p 25

[Text]

THE PRIVATIZATION of public enterprises is likely to be a crucial factor in future labour relations according to a number of participants attending a seminar at Chulalongkorn University on Wednesday. One labour leader suggested that Monday's failed coup attempt might have succeeded in rallying more labour support if the rebels had announced that public enterprises would not be privatized.

Nikom Chandravithoon, a former director general of the Labour Department said that "privatization will have most serious effect on good industrial relations in public enterprises." He said that all sides would have to accept that the privatization of some of the enterprises is inevitable, and labour leaders should seek to ensure that good working conditions are maintained in the privatized companies, rather than fight privatization itself.

Nikom was commenting on a paper presented by Assistant Professor Lae Dilokvidhayarat of Chulalongkorn's Faculty of Economics. Given the rather cumbersome title of "Economic Development, Government Policy and Labour Conflicts in Thailand: A Case Study of State Enterprises," the paper is the first in series on public policy being prepared for the Social Science Association of Thailand.

Tracing the development of labour relations and labour conflict in Thailand since the 1932 revolution, Lae concluded that the future of labour conflict in public enterprises should be approached at two levels: first, "labour in state enterprises, as employees under a capitalist system of production,"

and second, "the conditions which supplement the basic conflict. These consist of crises which add to the conflict, such as unemployment or inflation; and crises which reduce the effectiveness of control over the conflict, such as the decline in the legitimacy of the administration of the country."

Lae said that crises of the latter nature were increasing, as in the past five years capital accumulation was transferred at an accelerating pace from the public sector to the private sector.

"The crisis in international trade has led to a fiscal crisis for the government, and this has led to the clear announcement ... that public enterprises will no longer be permitted to be a burden on the government's expenditure.

"At the same time the government has imposed measures to cut the expenditure of the enterprises. This is primarily in the form of wages, and other payments for labour. In the process of cutting the expenditure, a number of means are employed, including the abolition of overtime, ceasing taking on new workers and reducing the workforce. If this still fails to achieve the desired effect, and the enterprises continue to drain the government's expenditure, then privatization may be considered."

In the long run, however, privatization would threaten the job prospects and job security of workers in public enterprises who would then be forced to seek "the diversion or distortion of the changes." Lae said that privatization does not arise from purely academic reasons "but for reasons

connected with the bargaining of political interests." Workers seeking to prevent privatization would look for allies and would take political action. "We can therefore conclude that labour conflict in public enterprises will become increasingly politicized in the future," Lae said.

Lae added that by handing public enterprises, many of which are public utilities, over to the private sector, or even by increasing prices such as bus and train fares, the government would be relinquishing some of its legitimacy, originally derived from being a provider of public welfare.

One trade union officer attending the seminar said that it was wrong to blame labour for the losses suffered by public enterprises. It is the management who cream the wealth from the enterprises, he said, and the good working conditions enjoyed by the workers should not be used as an excuse. The good conditions should not be destroyed, he said. "Do we want public enterprise employees to be exploited as they are in the private sector?"

He opposed privatization because the private sector only seeks to maximize profits and minimize wages. The public sector seeks to distribute resources, he said.

It was another union leader, Nivat Nakasuman, of the Telephone Organization of Thailand, who spoke about potential support for the coup, if an anti-privatization policy had been proclaimed. He said the rebels' announcement that trade union leaders would be appointed to

administer public enterprises had misfired. Trade unionists are not concerned with taking over management, merely with protecting the interests of the workers, he said. He added that most trade union leaders have no political ambitions, although he admitted that regrettably a few do.

Referring to trade union legislation which prohibits trade unions from taking part in political activity, Nivat said half-jokingly that there should also be a law preventing politicians from becoming involved in trade union affairs. He described how he had been ordered to report to the coup headquarters at the time of the "April Fool's coup" in 1981, and how he had therefore hurried into hiding during this week's abortive attempt.

Some of the academics at the seminar expressed the opinion that labour conflict is not necessarily bad. As well as leading to the increased welfare of the workers, it can also increase the consciousness of workers.

Nivat also said that he wanted to increase his members' political consciousness so that when the 1987 elections come around they can participate fully in the democratic process. Despite being in what he called "a military sphere of influence," by which he was referring to the TOT chairmanship which is held by General Arthit Kamlang-Ek, he said he hoped that MPs from the New Force or Democrat parties would be elected. (New Force party leader Suthop Wongkamhaeng was present at the seminar).

CSO: 4200/1580

THAILAND

## RIGHTIST MONK INVOLVEMENT WITH SHARE FUNDS DESCRIBED

### Shareholders Voice Scepticism

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 2 Sep 85 pp 1, 7, 20

[Excerpt] On 1 September, Flight Sgt 1st Class Nokkao Chaiken, the former operator of an oil share fund, distributed leaflets to customers asking them to meet at Chittaphawan College in Phathaya, Chonburi Province, in order to convert their loan contracts into public shares. Around 0600 hours, shareholders began assembling in front of the Konphet Company at the entrance to the Omrinwet Housing Development in Bangkok Metropolitan. By the time that they were supposed to leave for Phathaya, 3,000 shareholders had assembled there. At 0700 hours, the shareholders boarded large buses provided by the Konphet Company and left for Chittaphawan College.

At the same time, police officials from the Suppression Division made plans to deal with this. Police Col Sala Khaosamli, the superintendent of Precinct 2, Suppression Division, and 15 plainclothes policemen mingled among the shareholders. Others were positioned at various places around Chittaphawan College in order to arrest Flight Sgt 1st Class Nokkao Chaiken when she arrived. The police had a warrant for her arrest on charges of passing bad checks, defrauding the people and violating the Act on Loans That Defraud the People.

The Nokkao share fund customers began arriving at Chittaphawan College at 1000 hours. Other shareholders had already arrived and so the number of shareholders there swelled to 6,000. They sat and waited in the arbors. During this time, Phrakru Suchicharak, the deputy head of the Banglen District khana [Buddhist administrative division] in Nakhong Pathom Province, used a loudspeaker to ask the shareholders to come into the temple pavilion, where the noon meal of the monks was served and where the meeting was held. He said that Flight Sgt 1st Class Nokkao would arrive that afternoon. A large number of air force personnel

were present to provide protection. They had communications equipment. The monks at Chittaphawan helped facilitate things and arranged various things using radios to contact each other. The monks and air force personnel all walked around with radios.

Before noon, 690 monks and novices were asked to come eat their noon meal. Kittiwutto arrived at the pavilion in a blue Peugeot sedan, license No 7 Ch1565, and went in to receive the offering of food on behalf of the monks. Soldiers from the 21st Infantry Battalion brought food for the shareholders, including a noodle dish, fish soup, chicken curry, rice and an egg dish. The shareholders served themselves and sat about in groups eating. Many of them expressed doubt. The Suppression Division police officials and almost 100 local policemen led by Police Maj Thawat Pilasamut, the inspector for suppression at the provincial police station in Banglamung District were positioned at various places all around Chittaphawan.

After lunch, the shareholders were asked to come into the pavilion. In large red letters was the notice that this conference here was being hosted by the Konphet Mahachon Company Ltd, the Phalang Siam Company Ltd and a corporation. Shareholders had to enter through two doors. They had to go to one of the tables set up there, at each of which were eight officials from the Konphet Company and folders of documents. Before people were allowed to go inside, the officials asked to see their loan contracts. Each shareholder was given a blue 10 by 6-inch card on which they were to write their name, contract term and number, how many shares they intended to buy at 100 baht per share and their signature. There was a place for a witness and company official to sign. There was also a yellow 3 by 4-inch card with places for them to write their number, name and date of contract (they were asked to bring their identification card). The shareholders did not have to fill in this card yet. They were told to bring this yellow card when they contacted the Konphet Company again. The shareholders had to sign for the receipt of these two cards. A total of 3,700 people signed the loan contracts with the Konphet Company for a total of approximately 600 million baht. As they took these documents, the company officials told the people to contact the Sinakhon Bank. The signature on the yellow card was to be used as a sample signature when opening a savings account. But some shareholders were sceptical. They just watched and did not take any documents.

After the noon meal, reporters asked to interview Kittiwutto before he went to give his sermon. He answered using a microphone so that shareholders could hear, too. He said that the "government is concerned about the shareholders. But it may not see the problem clearly. If we look at things fairly, both Chamoy and Nokkao are good people. I am not involved in this. But I am a monk and the people's source of relief from suffering. Neither of these two people has ever done



cheated anyone. Chamoy has operated her fund for more than 10 years and has never cheated anyone. Nokkaeo has never cheated anyone. They should be treated fairly. The law that has been promulgated says that they cheated people, but that is not true."

The reporters asked him what the best way out of this would be. Kittiwutto said that he had given a useful suggestion. Reporters asked when and how Nokkaeo had contacted him. He replied that Nokkaeo had not come to see him. A subordinate, he did not know who it was, had brought a letter. He gave permission to come. The reporters asked whether government officials, or senior people in the country, knew about this. Kittiwutto said that "we informed the prime minister, the minister of finance, that is, Mr Sommai, Police Lt Gen Chamrat Chantharakhachon and Police Maj Gen Bunchu Wangkanon."

Reporters asked if this would be damaging to Chittaphawan. Kittiwutto said that "I don't think so. Religion must be an institution on which people can rely. If they can't rely on religion, what can they do? Some say that this may taint me and our religion. But those who have come are not criminals. They have not done anything wrong. Everyone is trying to earn a living honestly. They have just invested money jointly. This is not a sin like gambling. Please understand that as a monk, I have never worried about people not respecting me. I am not an object of merit of ordination. I am a monk who likes to solve problems. When people have problems, it is my duty as a monk to help them solve their problems. I have never feared anything. I have always tried to solve problems. I have never worried about people not respecting me. I have just tried to do my best to help people based on the Buddhist teachings. The senior people know this. There should not be any problems."

The reporters asked if he had informed the director-general of the Departemnt of Religious Affairs. Kittiwutto said that he probably knows all about this since several newspapers have published stories about this. Reporters asked whether Nokkaeo had ever come to see him. He replied that she had not visited him since this problem arose. He repeated that "I am not involved with Nokkaeo in any way. But I derive pleasure from other people's happiness."

The reporters asked how he would feel if thigns turned out the same way as the Chamoy case. He said that "I do not think that things will turn out that way since she is trying to solve the problems. Also, shareholders are cooperating well. This can be seen from the fact that when she asked people to come convert their contracts into public shares, more than 15,000 people, or almost all her shareholders, did so." Reporters again asked how he would feel if the public company goes bankrupt. Kittiwutto said that "I don't think that that will happen. The company has the capital to make a profit. However, business or trade requires other factors, too. For example, the oil business depends on the price of oil on world markets. If too great a risk is taken, a company may lose money. Trade depends on other things, too."

Reporters also asked whether he knew if this mobilization of public shares violated the law. Kittiwutto said that the "government was wrong in promulgating this act. But people must obey the laws and rules of society. We will look for the best solution using proper means. When there are a large number of shareholders, they can form a public company. The company is already engaged in trade. It is doing things properly. The profits are being divided among the people. But it must be understood that in business, sometimes a profit is made and sometimes there are losses. If we raise a chicken, we will have eggs to eat every day. We should protect the chicken. If we kill it, we won't get any eggs. This is an example that I like to give. If we take care of the chicken, we will have food to eat. Similarly, we must take care of the institution, that is, the company, and look after the activities. If we do so, there will be profits. The shareholders will make profits, too. This company shouldn't have any problems since land development is its main activity. This should make good profits for the company."

After that, Kittiwutto gave a sermon to the shareholders in the pavilion. During this time, Phra Wirasakwiranantho from Wat Thepthidaram, who is called the political forecaster, served as secretary. Reporters reported that Nokkhaeo has great respect for this monk. He was the one who arranged this meeting. Kittiwutto said that "I want the reporters here to be witnesses. We must soothe the shareholders. Monks are responsible for relieving the suffering of people." After that, he gave some background information on the company and discussed shareholdings, the profits that people will make and what happened after Nokkhaeo disappeared 5 months ago. Kittiwutto said that "Nokkhaeo will have to reduce the interest paid from 7 percent to only 4 percent. As you sit here, Mae Nokkhaeo may be sitting near you." At this point, the shareholders all applauded and cheered loudly. Kittiwutto talked for approximately 1 hour. During that time, the shareholders all sat and listened quietly.

After Kittiwutto finished speaking, the shareholders all paid obeisance and asked him things about the share fund that were still bothering them. Mostly, they asked about the administration of the company. They wanted to know who was on the board of directors, what the company rules were and so on. Kittiwutto said that those were internal company matters and that he could not discuss those things. He said that he had just wanted to make people feel better. If they had any questions or doubts, they could ask at the company. He then got up to leave. At that moment, Police Lt Col Wichien Samanphong, the superintendent of Precinct 2, Suppression Division [as published], came up and paid obeisance and then asked him if he knew where Nokkhaeo was. Kittiwutto said that he did not know whether she had come. Police Lt Col Wichien asked him if he was sure that this company would survive. Kittiwutto said that it probably would. He had already been interviewed by reporters. After that, he told those shareholders who still had doubts to go ask Phra Wirasak since he was Nokkhaeo's [spiritual] teacher. He then got in his car and left. Shareholders then asked Phra Wirasak the

same questions that they had asked Kittiwutto. At first, Phra Wirasak answered rather hesitantly. But his answers were similar to those of Kittiwutto. That is, he just tried to soothe the shareholders. He said that he did not know where Nokkao was. She might come out of hiding once everything was calm again. The temple had just provided a place for the meeting.

The shareholders who had come to the meeting and converted their contracts still had doubts and questions about what had happened. Some commented that in converting their contracts to shares, they had not received any guarantees and that Nokkao and her group were the only ones involved in the administration of the company. They said that shareholders were not involved in this and that no one knew any of the details about this. Among the shareholders who were making such comments was Mrs Niphaphon Nongnut, a former movie star who is 7 months pregnant. She said that she had invested more than 1 million baht with Nokkao.

Another person who had come to listen to the explanations given by the Konphet Company was Mr Somsak Khwanmongkhon. He told reporters that he was there as a representative of the Charter Company. He wanted to see how the Konphet Company will solve the problems. Perhaps the Charter Company can use similar measures. He also said that several months ago, Mr Ekkayut Anchanbut asked him to contact Police Lt Gen Charat Chantharakhachon to discuss surrendering and settling his debts. But then this happened and so he decided to wait and see what would happen.

The shareholders left at 1630 hours. Before they left, some shareholders said that this was probably another trick. They said that Kittiwutto had not said anything new and that they were tired of listening to the same thing all the time. There was nothing new of benefit to the shareholders. They said that they did not know what to do since the company had all the documents.

#### Official Reaction to Monk's Speech

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 3 Sep 85 pp 1, 7, 20

[Article]

[Excerpt] After the speech given by Phra Udonkhanaphirak, or Kittiwutto, to 6,000 shareholders in the Nokkao Fund at Chittaphawan College on 2 September, Gen Prachuap Suntharangkun, the deputy prime minister, told reporters that he had not received a report on this and was not aware that there had been a meeting. The Department of Religious Affairs must determine whether this was inappropriate. He does not know anything about this matter. At the last cabinet meeting, a report was given on other share funds. Nothing was said about the Nokkao fund.

Gen Sitthi Chirarot, the minister of interior, said that he never thought that Nokkaeo would show up. The Suppression Division did not believe she would either, but it had to send officials to maintain order. And as it turned out, she did not appear. As for turning this into a public company, he said that he did not want to comment on that since he is not sure what the law is on this. As for monks saying that Chamoy and Nokkaeo had not cheated anyone, he refused to comment on that since commenting on monks is a very delicate matter and he did not want to get involved. The officials responsible must be the ones to take action.

Reporters asked whether converting to a public company would open up an opportunity for the company to defraud more people. The minister of interior said that he did not have an opinion on this. Police officials took action on this matter based on the Share Act. The company will probably do everything it can. He does not care which fund it is. All he is concerned about is how much progress the police have made. "People will get what they deserve based on the law," said the minister of interior in conclusion.

Mr Samphan Thongsamak, the deputy minister of education and the person responsible for the work of the Department of Religious Affairs, told reporters that he has already sent a memorandum to the director-general of the Department of Religious Affairs on this. In this memorandum, he said that at the shareholder meeting at Chittaphawan College, Phra Kittiwutto had clearly tried to protect people who have violated the law and that he had mentioned the government. Many people have commented that it is inappropriate for a monk, particularly a senior monk who is quite well-known, to become involved in this matter like this. He feels that such comments will have an adverse effect on the people's faith. As the Office of the Secretary of the Council of Elders, the Department of Religious Affairs will bring up this matter at a meeting of the Council of Elders in order to discuss the propriety of this and to look for ways to prevent such things from happening again.

The deputy minister of education said that parliament passed the Share Act. The ministries of interior and finance have worked very efficiently. Everyone agrees that if no action is taken, this will create problems for the people. He is upset by the fact that a monk has criticized the government and tried to protect people who have violated the law. Because according to Buddhist teachings, monks must pass on and maintain the Buddhist faith. But he has harmed Buddhism by getting involved in things that are not his business. This is very dangerous, and it could result in youths turning their backs on religion. The Ministry of Education and the Council of Elders are trying to clarify this matter. As for Kittiwutto saying that he has not violated the precepts, the deputy minister of education said that "people can say whatever they want. It's like a killer saying that he was not responsible."

Mr Mongkhon Siphraiwan, the director-general of the Department of Religious Affairs, said that the department does not have the right to say whether Kittiwutto was right or wrong for involving himself in the Nokkaeo share fund matter since it is not in charge of the Sangha [Buddhist Order]. The khanasong must discuss this matter. The department will submit this matter in stages. It will be discussed at a meeting of the Council of Elders on 10 September.

While everyone is wondering about the acitons of Kittiwutto, Police Maj Gen Bunchu Wangkanon, the commander of the Suppression Division, said that he does not think that the meeting at Chittaphawan violated any law since Kittiwutto sent a letter to the Suppression Division stating that he did this in order to relieve the tension of the shareholders and that he would use the Buddhist teachings to improve morale. He asked that Suppression Division officials be sent to maintain order at Chittaphawan. This shows that he was not trying to protect criminals.

The commander of the Suppression Division said that the sermon by Kittiwutto did not have any effect on this case. Converting the loan contracts to public shares did not have any effect. The police are not involved. To date, no shareholder has retracted his statement. As for Kittiwutto comparing Nokkaeo to a chicken that should be saved for its eggs, the commander of the Suppression Division said that "that is correct. Feeding the chicken will make it grow. If it is strong, it will lay eggs. We should not kill such a chicken to make soup. But if the chicken becomes diseased, it must be killed quickly or separated from the other chickens so that it can't spread the disease. If the owner wants to maintain his flock, he must be hardhearted and destroy those that are diseased."

Reporters asked if it is true that a minister is behind the Nokkaeo share fund. The commander of the Suppression Division said that the police have not received any information on that. In her last statement, Nokkaeo said that she operated the fund alone.

#### Past Political Involvement Noted

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 4 Sep 85 p 4

[People Today column: "Phra Udonkhanaphirak, or Kittiwutto"]

[Text] He has been involved in many things that people still remember. For example, 20 years ago at Wat Paknam Phasicharoen, there were three monks, Achan Nop, Than Lop and Kittiwutto. People respected them for different reasons. The first was a fortune teller, the second was skilled at determing the worth of religious statues and the third was a skilled speaker.

When he moved to Wat Mahathat, Thaprachan, he became ever more well known as an important speaker of the Aphitham Foundation, Mahathat Withayalai. Wherever he was speaking, people from all levels, including politicians and generals, came to hear him. This was how Chittaphawan came into being. After collecting tens of millions of baht in donations, he built a large school to teach the Buddhist Vinaya [rules of conduct] at Banglamung in Chonburi.

Another matter that has not been forgotten is that a car bearing the insignia of Chittaphawan College was giving offerings to monks along the border in Aranyaprathet at a time when the rightist Cambodians were fighting the Khmer Rouge. By chance, the police seized a large number of weapons. Following that, a meeting of the right-wing Nawaphon group was held at Chittaphawan College, and a demonstration was staged at the Government House. There was also the case of the stolen Volvo, of which several important people in that period made use. Later on there were rumors that he was involved with women. Then came his remark that "killing communists is not a sin."

Now, a new phrase has appeared in the press. When shareholders of Flight Sgt 1st Class Nokkao, a woman who is wanted on a variety of charges, went to listen to one of his sermons, he said that the "chicken should not be killed but should be raised for its eggs. There will be eggs to eat every day." The shareholders seem to be in a trance.

#### Editorial Criticizes Monk

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 4 Sep 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Monk's Activities"]

[Text] As for a monk, that is, Kittiwutto at Chittaphawan College, coming forward and supporting two suspects who are wanted in connection with share fund cases, the question is, Was this proper for a monk? Or was he involved himself? This could be damaging to the Sangha.

Monks are responsible for giving sermons to teach Buddhists to be moral people and follow the Buddhist rules. Thus, the question that must be asked is, Did that monk act properly when he tried to protect these suspected criminals and did he violate his precepts? The Sangha must take some action on this before our Buddhist religion is tainted.

First, it is understood that all these share fund activities are aimed at defrauding people using the influence of certain people. Many unsuspecting people have been deceived. What we are particularly concerned about is that, more and more, the operators will not sign documents that are legally binding and so it will be impossible to fix responsibility. And if monks get involved, this may give people new confidence these funds. This monk has helped them. If anything happens, who

will take responsibility? Or will the people who have fallen into the trap be left to suffer the huge losses again?

Furthermore, the sermon by this monk showed that he misunderstands this matter and is ignorant of things. What is particularly inappropriate is that he has become involved in worldly matters. This will be harmful to religion. His behavior is an expression of human greed and ignorance. This is not the proper path for a person who holds the Buddhist teachings to be the highest truth.

Today, there is nothing else that the people can cling to besides religion. When a disciple of the Buddha does something or teaches something, the people believe him. Thus, when monks give sermons, they must teach the laymen to act properly. They must not say anything that will keep people from exercising their common sense.

As for what has happened, besides the fact that this was inappropriate behavior for a monk, this is something that the Sangha or Department of Religious Affairs cannot ignore. They cannot ignore this just because he is a well-known monk. Otherwise, many more people will suffer losses as a result of certain people associating with monks and relying on their prestige in order to carry on illegal activities.

#### Monk Challenges Officials

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 4 Sep 85 pp 1, 20

[Article]

[Excerpt] After all the reports about Kittiwutto speaking out at Chittaphawan on behalf of the Nokkaoe share fund, on 3 September Kittiwutto responded to the statements made by Mr Samphan Thongsamak, the deputy minister of education. He said that he did this out of concern for the people who are experiencing problems. Monks have three duties: to do things to help the people, to bring contentment to the people and to aid the people of the world. In this case, people were suffering and no one was doing anything to solve the problem. Those who have invested money do not have large incomes. They cannot be accused of being greedy people. They did this in order to support themselves and their families. By implementing this law, the government caused problems for them. And the government could not solve the problems. "What I said at Chittaphawan was aimed at helping them. I did not open a brothel or casino, which is against the law and contrary to religious precepts. I spoke the truth. I did not lie."

Kittiwutto also said that "whom did these people cheat? Mae Chamoy has been operating her fund for more than 10 years and has never caused problems for anyone. Nokkaoe has never tried to cheat anyone. As for my saying some things about the government, the government should not think that it is sacrosanct. As a monk, I spoke out as duty dictated.

If monks can't criticize the government's mistakes, the people will know. Our country is a democracy; it is not a communist country."

The director of Chittaphawan College also said that "I am glad that Minister Samphan Thongsamak is concerned about religion. But I am concerned about the fact that he does not understand Buddhist principles or know what the duties of a monk are. I am a senior monk. My duty is to teach the people. I am known both here and abroad. There is no need to worry about me making a mistake. Anyone is free to come and question me. I am concerned that the ministers responsible will use their authority over monks to issue orders to investigate monks, who are responsible for teaching others. I am worried that Buddhism will be destroyed by people who have evil intentions toward Buddhism. Thank you for turning this matter over to the Council of Elders. Some ministers should be investigated, too."

Reporters asked whether he had gotten involved because he has invested money with Mae Nokkaeo or has other interests as people are saying. Kittiwutto said that that was not the case. But when a law is promulgated, we must obey that law. As for whether it is a just law, we have the courts, the monarchy and the religion on which we can rely. Things must be corrected using reason. As for the investigation, there is no reason to worry. Monks understand monks. They are not like laymen who place themselves above monks. Good administrators do not use the law; they use moral principles. Those who obey the laws are not always good people. Mae Chamoy and Nokkaeo have not cheated anyone. If the government interferes too much, things will collapse. Even large banks may fail."

Kittiwutto continued by saying, "Any law that causes problems for the people should be repealed. Monks must make pilgrimages; they can't just stay inside their temple or act deaf and dumb." After that, he showed reporters a letter from Nokkaeo asking permission to use his temple grounds. He also showed them letters written to the prime minister, the minister of finance and the commander of the Suppression Division. In conclusion, he said "untouchable? Are they an egg in a rock? When the government interferes too much as in the present case, people should examine the assets of the ministers or senior people who have defrauded the country. It would be better to see how much treasure they have than to imprison Chamoy. Nokkaeo has had to flee and go into hiding. She can't administer things. Who will solve the company's problems?"

#### Officials, MPs on Monk's Past

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 5 Sep 85 pp 1, 20

[Article]

[Excerpts] After Phra Udonkhanaphirak, or Kittiwutto, gave a second interview on 4 September, in which he criticized the deputy minister



of education for setting himself, a layman, above monks and said that the homes of the ministers should be searched to see how much treasure they have. Mr Samphan Thongsamak, the deputy minister of education, gave another interview to reporters at Don Muang Airport just before he left for the United States. He said that "as for the Nokkhaeo share fund matter involving the temples, with Kittiwutto holding a conference, as the person responsible for religious affairs, in the name of the government I have sent a memorandum to the Department of Religious Affairs ordering it to bring up this matter at a Council of Elders' meeting on 10 September. The Council of Elders is the highest ecclesiastical authority. Kittiwutto's actions have distressed Buddhists in general. This is a weakness that can be criticized and that can lead to a loss of faith in the Sangha."

The deputy minister of education also said that "as for my admonishing him, I want to say that it is not my duty to admonish monks. I am just a disciple who feels that I must issue a warning when I see an abbot do something improper." He said that he would be glad to let people check his house. Before he became a minister, he had to inform the Office of the Commission to Counter Corruption of his assets. "I don't have any stolen cars or weapons. I don't hold any shares. I am not involved in construction contracting activities. I am concerned about this and so I have informed Buddhists about this."

Mr Samphan pointed out that the weakness stems from the 1962 Sangha Act, which weakened Sangha administration. The Ministry of Education is in the process of revising this act so that religion makes progress and can serve as a source of comfort for the people. A law will be promulgated that will provide for more efficient administration of the Sangha. This law will outlaw unauthorized religious offices. This law must be promulgated by laymen, that is, by MPs. Thus, religion and kingdom cannot be separated; they must rely on each other.

Mr Chuan Likphai, the minister of education, commented on the matter of Kittiwutto charging that Mr Samphan is acting superior to monks. He said that Kittiwutto is a senior monk and should not have made such comments. Senior monks should know what is what and which matters are clerical matters. He should think about the religion; he should not be concerned with personal matters.

Reporters asked about Kittiwutto's statement that the government is not sacrosanct. Mr Chuan said that that is not the government's position. But this is a secular matter and so government officials should be allowed to handle it. He can help people, but he must understand what responsibilities people have. He should be telling people not to invest in share funds. That is not the right way to make money. Just compare the amount of money invested to the amount paid back to people. People probably understand this. Mr Chuan said that the Department of Religious Affairs will discuss this matter with the Council of Elders in order to take further action.

Mr Trairong Suwannakhiri, the government spokesman, said that monks should not protect those who cause problems for the people. This is a matter for a court of law. "I have known Kittiwutto for a long time. I don't want to say anything more."

Mr Khlaeo Norapati, an MP from Khon Kaen and the deputy leader of the Social Democrat Party, gave his views of this matter. He said that "this monk is a political monk. Look at his activities from the very beginning. Nawaphonwattana Khieuwimon came and asked for advice. People still talk about his involvement with women and the Volvo affair. And now, not only did he allow shareholders to hold a meeting at Chittaphawan, he gave a sermon supporting Chamoy and Nokkao, both of whom are wanted by the police. If officials take action, he could be disrobed. He should not have said that. His behavior was inappropriate for a monk. He got involved in things that were not his business. Thus, the deputy minister of education should submit the matter to the Council of Elders. Mr Mongkhon Siphrawan, the director-general of the Department of Religious Affairs must attach great importance to this matter and cooperate with the Council of Elders in conducting an investigation. If he has violated the rules of the order, he must be disrobed. He has involved himself in political matters. In the view of Buddhists, he is tainted and should be disrobed. The fact that he openly supported the share funds indicates that he is involved in these funds, particularly the Nokkao fund. Meals were served to 6,000 people. Where did this food come from? This is a very disturbing matter.

The National Committee to Promote Culture and Discipline held a seminar at the Government House on psychological development. At 1300 hours, there was to be a discussion on the results of the psychological development activities. Several important people were to speak, one of which was Kittiwutto, the director of Chittaphawan College. But he had not arrived by 1300 hours. He called to say that he was busy and could not come.

Mr Somphon Thepsittha, the director of the National Center for the Promotion of Cultural Activities and Discipline, told reporters that Kittiwutto had been invited to attend the seminar before this problem arose. He had learned that Kittiwutto was planning to talk about the share fund matter at the Government House. Thus, he called him and asked him not to talk about this matter and to refuse to answer if someone asked about this. Kittiwutto said that he would not discuss this matter.

That evening, the minister of education told reporters that he had met with Phra Wisutthathibodi, the abbot at Wat Tramit, the head of the Bangkok khana and a member of the council of Elders, in order to inform him that the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for religious affairs, is worried that the argument between Kittiwutto and the deputy minister of education will have a negative effect on religion. The head of the Bangkok khana thanked the Ministry of Education

for its concern and said that he did not yet know all the facts about this matter. He knows only what he has read in the newspapers. He doesn't know what the turth is.

But in his view, it is improper for monks to get involved with share funds. However, he is not sitting by idly. He is trying to follow this matter. He called Kittiwutto but could not reach him. He said that at present, he doesn't know what the truth is. He will pursue the matter after the matter dies down somewhat. He can't say who is right or wrong. He asked everyone to remain calm so that the problem can be solved. He, too, will try to find a way to solve this problem.

At the same time, the head of the Bangkok khana asked the minister of education whether he had met with Somdet Phra Phutthakhosachan, the head of the Khana Yai Honklang, who is acting in place of the supreme patriarch. He told him that he should go to see him and to tell him that he had already met with the abbot of Wat Traimit. After meeting with Somdet Phra Phutthakhosachan, Mr Chuan revealed that Phra Phutthakhosachan had thanked him and said that he would contact the heads of the regional and provincial khana. Mr Chuan asked all sides, particularly laymen, to stop the feuding since this will be very bad for the religion. Mr Chuan also said that people sometimes use their knowledge of the Buddhist teachings to win an argument.

That same day, Police Lt Gen Chamrat Chantharakhachon, the assistant director-general of the Police Department, talked with reporters at the Police Department about the matter of Kittiwutto protecting Mae Nokkaeo. He said that he wasn't sure whether this matter would be discussed at a meeting of the Policy Committee. Reporters asked whether it was possible for Mae Nokkaeo to form a public company like this. Police Lt Gen Chamrat said they would have to ask the Ministry of inance about that since it is the expert on such laws. This matter concerns investment capital and shareholders. "I don't know what Kittiwutto actually said that day. All I know is what I have read in the newspapers. However, we must do things according to the law. We must obey the laws. People cannot violate the laws." Reporters asked when Mae Nokkaeo would be arrested. Police Lt Gen Chamrat said that the Suppression Division is responsible for that. There are few cases now and so it should be possible to take quick action against her.

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THAILAND

RIGHTIST MONK, BACKER OF CHIT FUND PROFILED

Bangkok THE NATION in English 8 Sep 85 p 9

[Text]

ONCE again, the controversial Phra Kittu Vudho has stepped out into the secular world, offering "salvation" to the clients of a major chit fund pool, through what the Thai Press has come to describe as the "chit fund sermon."

Phra Kittu Vudho had no qualms speaking out strongly in defence of the country's celebrated chit fund pool operators — Mrs Nokkaew Chaiyuen and Mrs Chamoy Tipyaso.

He told the 3,000 chit fund pool clients who gathered anxiously at Jittapawan Buddhist Monks College that they were obviously pursuing the 'right course' by investing in the chit fund pool. Furthermore, if someone were to be blamed for their troubles, it would certainly be the government.

His reassurance evidently injected some new hopes into the otherwise desperate chit fund pool clients.

Phra Kittu Vudho described the special royal decree issued by the government to deal with the unorganized money games as 'an attempt to take the bull by the horns.' "It does nothing to relieve the plight of the people," said the sturdy monk.

As if he himself were running the whole show, Phra Kittu Vudho offered the clients probably their last chance to have their money back. He told them that Mrs Nokkaew was planning to transform the trouble-plagued chit fund pool into a "public company."

With few questions asked, almost all the clients made a rush to become partners in the new firm. To buy "shares" in the company, the clients must turn over their chit fund contracts to its management which up till now remains nebulous and shadowy.

And once the contracts change hands, the clients would subsequently forfeit their only evidence that could be used against Mrs Nokkaew in the legal process.

It remains very ambiguous as to who would manage the said 'public company' — or even whether it will materialize at all. Phra Kittu Vudho spoke of "my disciples" who he indicated would have a part in managing it.

He said he organized the meeting at the request of Mrs Nokkaew, the fugitive chit fund head whose whereabouts remains a mystery. She was nowhere in sight during the whole meeting which was kept under the watchful eye of many policemen.

Many of the clients went to the meeting with chartered transports especially provided for the occasion from Bangkok.

But their peace of mind which was prompted by soothing assurances from Phra Kittu Vudho proved shortlived. The next morning, Phra Kittu Vudho was strongly criticized from many quarters. The Education Ministry immediately ordered an investigation against him by the Sangkha Supreme Council, the body which oversees the activities of Buddhist monks.

Almost every newspaper in town openly questioned his motive and began digging up records of his worldly activities. Some said the controversy had fueled speculations about the real connections behind the chit fund pool — taking into consideration the monk's close association with certain military groups.

But Phra Kittu Vudho did not appear to be perturbed, not in the least. He claimed he held the meeting in the interest of the public and went to the extent to indirectly reproach Deputy Education Minister Samphan Thongsamak who called for the investigation against him.

And as a small "sideshow" to the whole incident, many newspapers particularly pointed out the manner in which several Buddhist monks helped run the gathering that day. A much-publicized point was the way they conducted internal communications with walkie-talkies.

Phra Kittu Vudho has always been a controversial figure. He has the capability for doing things which have spurred criticisms.

He had his heyday in the mid-1970's. He kept running into one scandal after another — but still managed to emerge practically unscathed.

His open association with the rightwing movement Naowaphol brought into question the role of Buddhist monks in politics. In one of his sermons Phra Kittu Vudho, a staunch anti-communist figure, delivered probably his most famous statement when he said that it was 'not a sin to kill communists.'

The activities that followed inside the Jittapawan Buddhist Monks College at that time generated a great deal of speculation. The compound remained strictly off-limit to outsiders. There were even rumours that it was being used as a military training ground.

In one of the scandals, police uncovered an arms cache in the convoy which brought Phra Kittu Vudho and his disciples to a religious function on the Thai-Kampuchean border. He denied any involvement in it but rumours had it that the arms were supposed to have been destined for the Khmer Seri resistance forces fighting the Khmer Rouge who were at that time in power in Phnom Penh.

Then there were the scandals involving the purchase of several Volvo cars and a woman who was said to have been on 'intimate terms' with Phra Kittu Vudho.

But Phra Kittu Vudho survived the mentioned scandals with very little bruises.

Phra Kittu Vudho, said to be ethnic Chinese, is a native of Banglen District of Nakhon Pathom. He has been in the monkhood for nearly 30 years.

He spent his early days in monkhood at Wat Parknam Pasicharoen before moving to Wat Mahathat (Ta Phrachan) where he is presently affiliated though he spends much time at Jittapawan Buddhist Monks College which he founded.

Phra Kittu Vudho is known for his eloquent preaching style. He has a sizeable following, including many people placed in high postings who support him both financially — and sometimes politically.

It remains to be speculated as to why he decided to get involved in yet another "earthly matter" after keeping a low profile over a long period.

Phra Kittu Vudho may have ready standard answers to explain why he often does things which are generally reserved for laymen. "I did not enter monkhood to have people pay respects to me," he often said.

To be sure, he is probably getting something more than respect.

THAILAND

BRIEFS

THAI-MALAYSIAN COOPERATION--Thailand and Malaysia will step up their military cooperation next year to stamp out guerrillas belonging to the outlawed Communist Party of Malaya, or the CPM. According to Deputy Commander of the 4th Army Region Panya Singsakda, such an effort will have to be made because the communists have refused to surrender unconditionally. Major General Panya said, however, the army will not give up its effort to search for a negotiated settlement to the CPM problem, although talks between the 4th Army Region and the CPM through an intermediary had failed to persuade the communists to lay down their arms. He attributed the collapse of the recent truce talks to the CPM leaders' strong adherence to the ideology that armed revolution is the only means to achieve its objective to liberate Malaysia. Major General Panya said further that if the CPM problem had been resolved, the problem of the separatist movement affecting the four predominantly Muslim provinces in the southernmost part of Thailand would have been settled as well, because the two problems are related. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in English 0000 GMT 3 Sep 85]

TRADE SURPLUS WITH PRC--Thailand enjoyed a trade surplus of more than 1,000 million baht with China during the first half of this year. The Thai commercial counselor's office in Beijing reported that the 2-way trade between Thailand and China during January to June this year totaled about 3,600 million baht. The amount is made up of 2,400 million baht exports to China from Thailand, and 1,200 million baht Thai imports from China. The office noted that the amount went down by 15 percent compared to the corresponding period last year. Major items that China bought from Thailand were rice, raw sugar, mung bean, maize, rubber, and synthetic fibre. Thailand's imports from China included cotton, diesel oil, lubrication oil products, chemicals, silk yarn, pharmaceutical products, wax, and soybean meal. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in English 0000 GMT 13 Sep 85 BK]

NEWSMEN DEATHS CONDOLED--Their majesties the king and queen have sent a letter expressing sorrow over the death of the two foreign newsmen killed during last Monday's aborted military coup. The letter dated on Thursday [12 September] was signed by His Majesty's private secretary. Australian born television correspondent Neil Davis and his American soundman, William Latch, both employed by the American network, NBC, were gunned down by the rebel tank crew while they were filming the coup attempt. The letter asked the ambassadors to convey their majesties' personal sympathy and sincere condolences to the families of the two newsmen. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in English 0000 GMT 15 Sep 85]

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

KPNLF TO STRESS DISCIPLINE, PROPAGANDA, NOT ANTI-SRV COMBAT

Bangkok THE NATION in English 8 Sep 85 p 3

[Text]

PEKING — The second-biggest guerrilla faction fighting Vietnam's presence in Kampuchea has said it will stress political rather than military action in future, the New China News Agency reported yesterday.

It quoted a spokesman for the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) as saying the front's executive committee had decided to shift its efforts from stepping up military activities and concentrate on political work in the Kampuchean interior.

"We should do this in order to make our struggle more effective. We will continue to carry out our military activities, but the emphasis will be on the political work," the official Chinese agency quoted spokesman Vora Kuikanphoul as saying in a telephone interview in Bangkok.

Officials of the non-communist KPNLF were going to their home villages and towns and the organization was also concentrating on discipline within its own ranks, the agency reported.

The KPNLF and followers of coalition president Prince Norodom Sihanouk are linked with the communist Khmer Rouge in a coalition recognized by the United Nations.

A month ago, Son Sann, the KPNLF leader and coalition prime minister, said western nations had refused to give aid to the coalition because his troops were indisciplined, looted villages and lacked credibility.

"...I am going back to tell (our) army that it must not alienate the population, which is our main support in the fight against the Vietnamese occupation troops," Son Sann told Reuters in Paris.

The KPNLF, which says it can muster about 12,000 guerrillas, was badly mauled in a Vietnamese dry-season offensive at the end of last year and driven from its bases on the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Coalition leaders say that between 37,000 and 41,000 guerrillas, mostly Khmer Rouge armed by China, are fighting an estimated 160,000 to 180,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea which Hanoi invaded in 1978. — Reuter

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

THAI PAPER REPORTS SIHANOUKIST BATTLE STRATEGY

BK170120 Bangkok THE NATION in English 17 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Vietnamese forces are unlikely to launch a full-scale offensive against Sihanoukist guerrilla bases on the Thai-Kampuchean border during the upcoming dry season, Kampuchean resistance sources said.

The sources said the Sihanoukist Army has changed its military tactics by abandoning major bases on the Thai-Kampuchean frontier and maintain only small mobile supply bases.

They said only a few hundreds guerrillas are positioned at each border base to protect the supply for other guerrillas who operate inside Kampuchea while their civilian followers are being sheltered on Thai soil.

According to the sources, more than 5,000 Sihanoukist guerrillas have been sent deep inside Kampuchea to conduct hit-and-run operations against the Vietnamese troops.

"We have nothing for the Vietnamese to attack on the frontier with Thailand during the next dry-season offensive," one of the sources said.

A well-informed source said the guerrillas, positioned at the border bases, have been ordered not to put up resistance against the Vietnamese if there are any attacks on their positions in order to avoid casualties.

The sources said the guerrillas at the border bases will only move the supplies out of the bases to prevent the Vietnamese from seizing it and to set up new bases.

"The Vietnamese will find only empty camps after they manage to take control," said the sources.

The rebel sources said the Sihanoukist Army has established more than four mobile bases in an area around Tonle Sap, the Kampuchean great lake.

They said many arms caches have also been stored in the same area to supply weapons for the guerrillas operating inside Kampuchea.



COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL CAMBODIA CONFERENCE--Rome, 7 Sep (AFP)--Visiting Cambodian resistance leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk today called for an international peace conference involving all parties to the Cambodian conflict. The head of the United Nations-Recognized anti-Hanoi coalition government told a press conference that China and the Soviet Union should attend such a conference as "they have the key to resolve the question and must therefore agree to talk to each other." The prince, on a European tour prior to the 40th anniversary session of the UN General Assembly, said the four Cambodian parties, including the Khmer Rouge and the Phnom Penh government, should also take part. He said he would be prepared to accept the Khmer Rouge, ousted from power by Hanoi's troops in early 1979, and the Heng Samrin government in any future government emerging from a settlement. [Excerpts] [Paris AFP in English 2016 GMT 7 Sep 85]

CSO: 4200/1579

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

BOU THANG GREETES HUNGARIAN DEFENSE MINISTER

BK241214 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1200 GMT 23 Sep 85

[Text] PRK National Defense Minister Comrade Bou Thang recently sent a congratulatory message to Comrade Lieutenant General Istvan Olah, minister for national defense of the Hungarian People's Republic. The message, among other things, says:

Dear Comrade Minister: On the 37th founding anniversary of the Hungarian People's Army, on behalf of the KPRAF and myself, we are happy to address to you and to all combatants and cadres of the entire Hungarian People's Army our warm and most sincere congratulations. We express our admiration for the great achievements scored by the Hungarian people and army in every field under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, particularly in building a prosperous economy, improving the people's living standards, defending the country and contributing to strengthening peace in Europe and in the world. Faced with the danger created by international imperialism the Hungarian People's Army, in cooperation with armies of the fraternal Warsaw Pact with the Soviet Union as a solid bastion, has actively contributed to the defense of world peace--an important task for mankind.

We will strive to expand the relations of solidarity and all-round cooperation between our two peoples and armies for the benefit of strengthening peace and socialism.

Please accept our best wishes for new successes in your noble and responsible task and for the well-being of the Hungarian people and their army and the glory of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Please accept our high regards.

CSO: 4212/109

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

CHEA SIM GREETES BULGARIAN FATHERLAND FRONT

BK191053 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 19 Sep 85

[Text] Comrade Chea Sim, chairman of the KUFNCD National Council, has sent a greetings message to the chairman of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front Committee, on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of Bulgaria's socialist revolution victory. The message said, among other things:

We would like to extend warmest greetings and congratulations to you and the Bulgarian Fatherland Front Committee on the great victories scored in all fields during the past 41 years by the Bulgarian Fatherland Front and people in building their fatherland and in contribution to strengthening peace and stability in the world.

The victories won by the Cambodian people in the past 6 years, particularly the military victories won along the Cambodian-Thai border in the 1984-85 dry season, are made possible thanks to the correct and clear-sighted leadership of the KPRP and the KUFNCD. However, these victories are also attributable to the sincere assistance given us by the friendly socialist countries, including the Bulgarian party, front, and people.

On this 41st anniversary of the victory of the Bulgarian socialist revolution, we wish the comrades in the Bulgarian Fatherland Front Committee and the Bulgarian people new and greater victories in their national construction and their contribution to strengthening peace and stability in the world.

May Cambodia-Bulgaria friendship, solidarity, and cooperation last forever!

CSO: 4212/109

9 October 1985

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

## HEALTH MINISTER MEETS FRENCH PARLIAMENTARIAN

BK200556 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1300 GMT 19 Sep 85

[Text] Comrade Health Minister Yit Kimseng warmly received the visiting delegation of the French National Assembly's commission for cultural, family, and social affairs at the Health Ministry at 1500 on 18 September. On this occasion, Comrade Yit Kimseng denounced and condemned the brutal and savage crimes committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique against the Cambodian people during the 3 years 8 months and 20 days of its rule. In fact, all national infrastructures were badly ravaged, particularly the health structure, which was completely destroyed. He talked about the rebirth of the Cambodian people with the timely and effective assistance of the Vietnamese Government, people and Army. Since liberation, under the talented leadership of the KPRP, all sectors have been restored and rebuilt and have developed gradually. The health sector, especially, has grown steadily. For instance, the hospitals, the health systems, and the pharmaceutical laboratories have been restored or rebuilt from the central to grassroots levels. Moreover, the training of doctors and health workers has been greatly successful as more and better health personnel are being sent into the field to meet the demands of the party and people.

In his response, French Socialist Party member Bernard Bardin, expressing great admiration and satisfaction, highly appreciated the great achievements recorded by the Cambodian people over the past 6 years, bringing progress in all fields. He offered assurances that in the future the PRK party, government, and people as a whole will achieve more and greater successes and that he will inform the French public of the reality in Cambodia, making it see more clearly the line of truth pursued by the KPRP.

CSO: 4212/109

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

DEPARTING FRENCH LEGISLATORS ISSUE COMMUNIQUE

BK211244 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1117 GMT 21 Sep 85

[Text] Phnom Penh, 21 Sep (SPK)--Prior to its return to France, the parliamentary delegation led by Bernard Bardin expressed to its Kampuchean hosts the most sincere thanks for their welcome and remarkable organization during its stay in Kampuchea.

A press communique on the visit released in Phnom Penh reads:

"The French National Assembly delegation had several, excellent contacts, especially with Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for foreign affairs; and Chea Sim, chairman of both the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the National Council of the United Front for Construction and Defense of the Kampuchean Fatherland, which contacts made the delegation better know and understand the People's Republic of Kampuchea and which deepened the study for the development of the cultural, scientific and technical relations between France and the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

"It underlined the efforts for national rebirth made by the Kampuchean people and the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, particularly in education and public health, over the past 6 years after the overthrow of the genocidal Pol Pot regime.

"The delegation noted with satisfaction the broad views expressed on economic issues for a better development.

"Back to France it will impart what it observed, heard and noted in the country, and will act to realize a real policy of cooperation."

CSO: 4200/1581

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

CORRESPONDENT DESCRIBES PRK TANK UNIT IN BATTAMBANG

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 3 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Bui Van Bong: "Meeting Cambodian Cadres and Enlisted Men at Tank Unit H6"]

[Text] The tank unit of Thum-xoac-chia [Vietnamese phonetics] was moving toward the border west of Battambang. It was traveling a newly opened road, across bridges and through villages that had just been built at the edge of the jungle. It was the hot season and red dust covered the vehicle's hood as if someone had just given it a coat of fresh paint. That afternoon the entire unit stopped in a mature area of the forest. The "bang lang" trees had developed purple blossoms. The members of the unit dug trenches and erected lean-tos, and carefully concealed the tanks with tree branches.

We met veryyoung drivers. Non Khon was one of the unit's outstanding drivers. Before joining the Cambodian Revolutionary Army he was completely "backward" with regard to machinery. Now he can teach others about tank techniques and operate them expertly. "Try hard and you'll learn." He convinced himself of that.

"Perhaps you have not yet met all of our tank drivers," said Thum-xooc-chia. "Most of the members of our unit were recruited from rural areas. They apparently knew very little about machinery and industrial technology. But we did not give up. The Vietnamese volunteer units helped us overcome our difficulties. They sent experienced, devoted cadres to help our soldiers improve their knowledge. The specialized cadres gave specific, detailed guidance about the machinery components and parts and their operation. Now the cadres and men in our unit can teach one another." In a recent examination 78 percent of the drivers were rated "good," 65 percent of the gunners were rated "good," and 80 percent of the tank crews were rated "fair" or "good" in the "tank detachments attacking while on the attack" lesson. The "firing infantry weapons from atop tanks" lesson was difficult, but all detachments at least met the requirements. Detachments T4, K34, N6, and K 17 attained "good" and "fair" ratings. The tank unit of Thum-xooc-chia pays much attention to maintaining its combat facilities. The unit experienced several weeks and months that were tense with regard to time. It had to study both academic subjects and specialized technical subjects, while concentrating on building the unit and strictly observing the regulations and orders. The

unit command cadres, such as Thum-xooc-chia, Xa-mun, and Bu-xooc-kha were exemplary and knew how to command, manage, and train their men. Thum-xooc-chia gave up time during the leave period at the beginning of the year to closely monitor the weak detachments and help the drivers and gunners. Within only a short period of time he and unit command cadres increased the ratio of skilled tank crews from 40 percent to 72 percent.

Company Commander Xin-Xarong had been an infantryman. His educational level was low and he did not complete the seventh grade. But after attending school for 2 years and gaining more than a year of on-the-job training with tank crews he became a competent command cadre who had the respect of the enlisted men. Tun-Xa-Lua, Kay-Bu-Ni, Ro-Xa-Vuc and Non Khon, enlisted men who at first didn't know what was inside tanks, are now expert in the techniques and tactics of tank maneuvers, tank operation in combat, and overcoming obstacles. More than 6 years ago they were still children 13 to 15 years old, skinny and black, hungry and poorly clothed, who lived deep in the jungle or in the concentration camps. The revolution saved them from the genocide of Pol Pot.

"We will win victory. We will achieve merit." On that day, when we met them in the jungle near the border they confirmed their will and skill. I asked Non Khon, "What jobs can you do in one of the tank detachment's combat crews?" He replied, "I can drive or serve as a gunner. I am a tank driver and in combat have the mission of overcoming obstacles, as during last month's examination, when I moved ahead of the formation to provide support for my comrades and take advantage of opportunities to attack on the battlefield. At times the tank encountered complicated terrain or major obstacles which could not be overcome, so I opened the upper hatch and used the turret as a firing platform, using a light machinegun to fire at targets ahead of us."

Non Khon told about maneuvers in which his crew participated. Recently, after participating in dry season combat along the border, tank unit H6 immediately began the second training cycle. The detachments practiced attacking the enemy in strong fortifications and attacking the enemy while on the move, in order to ensure sufficient skills to win victory under many circumstances.

5616

CSO: 4209/609

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

TROOP DISPOSITIONS IN ODDAR MEANCHEY, ANS REACTIONS

BK230705 Bangkok THE NATION in English 23 Sep 85 p 5

[Text] The Vietnamese have despatched a reinforcement force of about 1,000 troops equipped with military hardware, including several artillery pieces, to the northeastern border with Thailand in what appears to be preparation for a battle against Sihanoukist guerrillas.

Sources in the National Sihanoukist Army (ANS) quoted intelligence reports from Kampuchea's interior as saying that 700 Vietnamese soldiers and five truckloads of heavy weapons and ammunition were moved from Phnom Penh to Oddar Meanchey, a northeastern Kampuchean frontier town, towards the end of last month.

They said that among the weapons were four 122mm rocket launchers, two 105mm artillery pieces and several recoilless rifles.

The sources said the Vietnamese reinforcements, mobilized from the three divisions known as F302, E55 and E271 based in Phnom Penh, are being stationed in Phnum Phlov village of Oddar Meanchey near the Thai-Kampuchean border.

On 28-31 August, senior Vietnamese and Heng Samrin regime officials held a meeting in Siem Reap to discuss plans for an offensive against the resistance forces in the upcoming dry season.

The meeting, codenamed "Front 479," was presided over by two Vietnamese generals identified by the sources as Bay Phoeung, 59, and Pieu Sav Phoeung, 56, [names as published] and was also attended by a Kampuchean vice-governor of Siem Reap.

According to the sources, the meeting resulted in a decision to move some elements of Vietnamese and Heng Samrin forces in the central province of Siem Reap to the northeastern frontier with Thailand in preparation for a military operation next month.

The Khmer resistance sources also predicted Vietnamese air strikes against the resistance guerrillas in the mountainous terrain of the frontier.

The sources said the ANS guerrillas will put up resistance against the Vietnamese forces only long enough to inflict as many casualties as possible on the Vietnamese before moving out their supplies and ammunition to other areas to set up new mobile bases.



"The Sihanoukist guerrillas will not fight until the last man to protect only small supply bases but we will withdraw after inflicting the highest casualties on the Vietnamese," one of the ANS officials said.

The ANS sources said despite the Vietnamese capture of their headquarters at Ta Tum during the past dry season, the ANS guerrillas, especially the fifth and the third brigades, are still active with hit-and-run tactics in the Kampuchean provinces of Siem Reap and Oddar Meanchey.

They said that during 16-19 August the nationalist guerrillas, led by Commander of the Fifth Brigade Prince Norodom Chakkrapong, sabotaged three bridges on the National Route No 68 which links the district of Ktum in Siem Reap with the National Highway No 6 in central Kampuchea.

According to the sources, the incidents occurred at the night and the three bridges were destroyed by the explosions.

CSO: 4200/1581

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

FORMER SON SANN SOLDIERS EXPOSE CRIMES IN CAMPS

BK131242 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1128 GMT 13 Sep 85

[Text] Phnom Penh, 13 Sep (SPK)--"The Sereika (Son Sannians) are in no way different from the Khmer Rouge (Pol Potists). They are all criminals whose hands are smeared with blood of the Kampuchean people," said Long Sary, an ex-Son Sannian during a recent press conference in Phnom Penh.

Long Sary, who had just rallied to the revolution, told reporters of the atrocities, crimes and corruption he had seen in Sereika camps. He said looting and killing occurred daily, with the participation of Thai soldiers. The criminals always went scot-free, he noted.

Long Sary further said: "Most of the people forcibly kept in Thailand want to repatriate so as to rejoin their families in Kampuchea. But they have no means to do that. The camps are as heavily guarded as prisons, and people without passes would be shot."

Another returnee, Ry Saem, said that Son Sann's men, assured of U.S. protection, persecuted refugees at will. "The main occupation of Sereika men at Nong Chan and Khao I Dang camps is killing, looting and raping," he said.

Saem said: "There is no use to protest. You will be killed instantly, if you want to protect the women. Self-defense is useless."

"Moreover," he went on, "the camp supervisors don't care a straw for these things. Their only concern is to pocket international aid, to rob the refugees and to amuse themselves with the women."

Saem revealed that U.S. financial assistance was being appropriated by high-ranking officials. "Money from the United States cannot ease the suffering of the refugees. Rather it makes them even more miserable," he observed.

Saem said there was nothing "heroic" about Sereika. "Young men are forced to become gunmen by Sereika leaders who collude with the Thai authorities. I think we are all cheated into becoming tools for the criminals," he concluded.

CSO: 4200/1581

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

BOU THANG SPEAKS AT ARMY TRAINING SCHOOL CEREMONY

BK240636 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1200 GMT 23 Sep 85

[Text] The army's combined training school recently organized a ceremony to conclude the training, with good results, of the sixth batch of trainees. Taking part in the ceremony were Comrade Bou Thang, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, and defense minister; Comrade Soy Keo, member of the party Central Committee, deputy defense minister, and chief of the general staff; Comrade (Neang Sophal), director of the army's combined training school; and many other cadres representing the school and departments.

To start the ceremony, Comrade Neang Sophal, director of the school, read a report outlining the results of the sixth training course in the field of politics and specialized subjects. As a result, at the end of the training course, 38 percent of cadres were good, 37.51 percent fair, and 21.37 passable [figures as heard].

Afterward, Comrade Bou Thang, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, and defense minister, praised the spirit of the school's instructors and cadres attending the sixth training course for braving all difficulties to study hard and temper themselves until they achieved good results as prescribed by their superiors. He also called on all cadres, upon returning to their units, to adhere firmly to revolutionary good behavior and cleanliness and heighten their revolutionary vigilance. They should unite and assist one another and strengthen their solidarity with local state authorities and people as well as with the Vietnamese volunteer army in the struggle against the enemies. In particular, they should heighten their spirit to score and expand their victories to serve the party and people.

After a pledge read by a representative of the trainees, Comrade Bou Thang and Comrade Soy Keo awarded congratulatory certificates to 8 units and 47 individuals and citation certificates to 17 units and 81 trainees for their achievements during the current training session.

CSO: 4212/109

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

REPORT ON AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS 16-22 SEPTEMBER

BK230900 [Editorial Report] Cambodian media monitored by Bangkok Bureau carried the following reports on agricultural developments during the reporting period 16-22 September.

Kandal Province: Phnom Penh SPK in French at 1145 GMT on 16 September reports that despite drought, peasants in Phnum Penh District have, since the beginning of this rainy season, transplanted 6,000 hectares of rice, including 173 hectares of intensive rice; the local agricultural service in the meantime has provided 25 metric tons of IR-35 rice seed and 87 metric tons of chemical fertilizers to the peasants. The report also says that by early August, the provincial trade service distributed more than 1 million exercise books to various educational establishments in the province. In another report in French transmitted at 0403 GMT on 18 September, SPK says that by 13 September peasants in Dangkao District had transplanted 120 hectares of rice; since the beginning of this rainy season peasants in the district have planted almost 3,000 hectares of the 8,000 hectares of rice planned for this season. The local authorities had provided 17 metric tons of intensive rice seed to the peasants during the same period. The report also says that since the beginning of this rainy season, peasants in Leuk Dek District had harvested more than 650 hectares of early rice with an average yield of 2 metric tons per hectare and more than 2,900 hectares of corn. SPK in English at 1107 GMT on 21 September reports that in August peasants in this same district of Leuk Dek sold 800 metric tons of surplus corn to the state; they expect to sell 1,550 metric tons by the end of this month. The report also adds that by mid-August, 92 metric tons rice, 20 metric tons of tobacco, 20 metric tons of beans, and 7 metric tons of pig on the hoof had also been sold to the state.

Kratie Province: According to Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian at 1300 GMT on 16 September, peasants in the province have so far sold 487 metric tons of sesame to the state.

Kompong Thom Province: In a report in French transmitted at 1145 GMT on 16 September SPK says that by the end of July peasants in Santuk District had planted 8,411 hectares of rice, including 935 hectares of slash-and-burn rice. The radio at 1100 GMT on 17 September says that by the end of August peasants in Stoung District had planted more than 13,000 hectares of slash-and-burn rice. According to SPK in French at 1137 GMT on 21 September, the local veterinary service vaccinated almost 1,000 head of cattle against various diseases in August.

Kompong Chhnang Province: In a report in French transmitted at 1205 GMT on 17 September SPK says that by the beginning of this month peasants in Kompong Leng District had planted more than 4,050 hectares of rice, including 2,406 hectares of floating rice, or more than 66 percent of rice planned for this season; the local authorities in the meantime had provided more than 34 metric tons of rice seed to the peasants. The radio at 1300 GMT on 18 September reports that by the end of August peasants in Toek Phos District had tilled more than 4,000 hectares of land, sown more than 500 metric tons of rice seeds, transplanted more than 3,000 hectares of various types of rice, and planted more than 6 hectares of slash-and-burn rice; more than 9,700 hectares of subsidiary crops had also been planted.

Takeo Province: According to SPK in French at 1205 GMT on 17 September peasants in Prey Kabbas District, by the first week of this month had transplanted 10,800 hectares of rice, or 84 percent of this season's plan. In a report in English transmitted at 1124 GMT on 18 September SPK says that by the beginning of this month peasants in Treang District had transplanted almost 14,000 hectares of rice, or 70 percent of the plan for this season.

Kampot Province: The radio at 1300 GMT on 16 September reports that in August fishermen in the province caught more than 50 metric tons of first grade fish, more than 100 metric tons of second grade fish, more than 90 metric tons of third grade fish, and many more metric tons of other sea products. In another report broadcast at 1300 GMT on 17 September the radio says that by the end of August peasants in the province had planted more than 8,600 metric tons of subsidiary crops, almost 1,300 hectares of vegetables, and more than 1,800 hectares of [word indistinct] crops. In a report in English transmitted at 1107 GMT on 17 September SPK says that because of drought peasants in Kampot District had by mid-August cultivated only half of the 9,830 hectares of rice planned for this season. The district agricultural service, in the meantime, had provided 28 metric tons of chemical fertilizers to the peasants.

Pursat Province: According to SPK in French at 1137 GMT on 21 September, during the last week of August peasants in the province transplanted almost 4,900 hectares of rice. The report adds that since the beginning of this season peasants have planted 40,600 hectares of rice, or 54 percent of the season's plan.

Prey Veng Province: According to SPK in French at 1137 GMT on 21 September, by the end of August peasants in the province, despite drought, had planted more than 165,000 hectares of rice or more than 70 percent of their plan; more than 6,700 hectares of corn and 1,200 hectares of sesame had also been planted.

Kompong Speu Province: The radio at 2300 GMT on 19 September reports that by mid-September peasants in Phnum Sruoch District had transplanted more than 6,000 hectares of rice of the planned 8,500 hectares, including more than 1,000 hectares of slash-and-burn rice. In another report broadcast at 1300 GMT on 21 September, the radio says that by 12 September peasants in Samraong Tong District had transplanted more than 11,000 hectares of rice, or 77 percent of the plan, using more than 4,000 metric tons of natural fertilizer. At 0430 GMT

on 22 September the radio reports that by 4 September peasants in the province had planted 63 percent of rice planned for this season. Samraong Tong District had transplanted almost 11,000 hectares, Baset District more than 12,000 hectares, Udong District more than 7,000 hectares, Kong Pisei District more than 7,000 hectares, Phnum Sruoch District more than 5,000 hectares, and Thpong District more than 3,000 hectares. Moreover, more than 2,000 hectares of subsidiary crops and more than 3,200 hectares of industrial crops had also been planted. SPK in English at 1105 GMT on 22 September reports that the agricultural service in Udong District has distributed 100 metric tons of IR-36 rice seed to peasants to make up for their losses due to drought; the peasants are now busy planting 11,500 hectares of rice for this season. The report adds that in the past months, 2,300 hectares of rice were destroyed by drought.

CSO: 4212/109

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

BRIEFS

MISLED PEOPLE--Phnom Penh, 22 Sep (SPK)--Last month, 232 misled people, including 103 Polpotists and 102 Sonsannites, rallied to the authorities of the western border province of Battambang, bringing with them 103 guns. Meanwhile 69 others reported themselves to the revolutionary authorities in Kompong Thom, 150 km north of Phnom Penh bringing along 28 firearms. According to them, after the (?serious) defeats sustained by the Khmer reactionaries along the Kampuchean-Thai border, they met with many difficulties: lack of war materials, food, medicine, etc. Moreover, nostalgia and the six-point clement policy of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea toward the misled people had animated them to return. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1102 GMT 22 Sep 85]

SOVIET LECTURERS--Phnom Penh, 17 Sep (SPK)--Men Sam-an, member and president of the Commission for Propaganda and Education of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, has received here a group of lecturers of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before its departure for home. The group was headed by Klepach Nicolay Yakovlevich, chief of the propaganda section under the Commission for Propaganda and Education of the CPSU Central Committee. Men Sam-an highly valued the visit of the Soviet lecturers, which, she said, helped enrich the Kampuchean experiences in national construction. She informed her guests of the all-round achievements of the Kampuchean revolution over the past 6 years [words indistinct] the resolution of the 4th PRPK Congress. For his part, Klepach Nicolay Yakovlevich highly praised the achievements recorded by the Kampuchean people under the clear-sighted leadership of the PRPK. During its 8-day stay in Kampuchea, the Soviet guests gave lectures to cadres in various public offices in Phnom Penh and Kandal Province. They also visited the Tyre factory in Kandal, the fine arts school in Phnom Penh and the Tonle Bati ruins in Takeo Province. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1100 GMT 17 Sep 85 BK]

DELEGATION TO POLAND--Phnom Penh, 17 Sep (SPK)--A Kampuchean party, state and front delegation left Phnom Penh Monday morning for Poland for the 90th anniversary of the Polish United Peasants Party. The delegation, guest of the PUPP Central Committee, was led by Chan Ven, general secretary of the State Council and vice chairman of the National Council of the United Front for Construction and Defence of the Kampuchean Fatherland. It was seen off at Pochentong Airport by Yos Por, general secretary of the Front National Council, and other Kampuchean officials. Polish Ambassador Ludwik Klockowski was among the farewell party. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1117 GMT 17 Sep 85 BK]

JAPANESE 'PEACE BOAT' YOUTH--Phnom Penh, 9 Sep (SPK)--A delegation of the Japanese youth organization "Peace Boat" has paid a one-day visit to Kampuchea. During the visit the delegation, led by Mrs Houkouda Kayko, member of the Standing Committee of the "Peace Boat" youth organization, met last Sunday with Im Suosdei, vice president of the Association of Revolutionary Youth of Kampuchea. Houkouda Kayko expressed her joy over the development of Kampuchea and praised the efforts of the Kampuchean youth in national defence and construction. She wished to have fine relations between Japanese and Kampuchean young people and said that back home she will inform the Japanese people about the reality of Kampuchea. The same day, the Japanese delegation visited the national museum, the Tuol Sleng Museum of genocide in Phnom Penh and mass graves of genocide victims at Cheung Ek commune in Kandal Province. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1122 GMT 9 Sep 85 BK]

SRV MINISTERIAL DELEGATION LEAVES--Phnom Penh, 12 Sep (SPK)--A delegation from the Vietnamese Ministry of Supply left Phnom Penh Thursday morning ending an 8-day visit to Cambodia. The delegation, led by Tran Trieu, deputy minister of supply, was seen off at Pochentong Airport by Phang Saret, deputy minister of home and foreign trade, and Vietnamese Embassy Adviser Nguyen Hoa. During its stay, the delegation was received by Chan Phin, member of the KPRP Central Committee Secretariat and minister of home and foreign trade. [Excerpt] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1108 GMT 12 Sep 85 BK]

RALLIERS IN KAMPOT--Phnom Penh, 7 Sep (SPK)--Twenty-two misled people have so far this year reported themselves to the administration at Kampot District, Kampot Province, 150 km southwest of Phnom Penh. They brought along six guns. The local authorities and population have warmly welcomed the ralliers and have provided them with means to start a new life with their families. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1056 GMT 7 Sep 85]

KOMPONG CHANANG RETURNEES--Phnom Penh, 10 Sep (SPK)--Fifty-three misled people broke with the enemy ranks and rallied to the revolutionary authorities in Kompong Chhnang Province in the past 8 months, bringing along a quantity of assorted guns and other war materials. [Excerpt] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1043 GMT 10 Sep 85 BK]

RED CROSS AID DISTRIBUTION--Phnom Penh, 10 Sep (SPK)--The provincial Red Cross of Kompong Cham recently distributed 10 metric tons of rice and a quantity of medicine to 404 families of drought victims in Baray Commune, Prey Chhor District. [Summary] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1053 GMT 10 Sep 85 BK]

KOMPONG THOM RETURNEES--Phnom Penh, 13 Sep (SPK)--Last month 62 people misled by the enemy propaganda reported themselves to the provincial authorities of Kompong Thom, about 150 km north of Phnom Penh. The returnees handed over 28 guns to the local authorities. Since early this year, the province has received a total of 602 returnees who brought along 171 guns and other war materials. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1118 GMT 13 Sep 85 BK]



MISLED PERSONS RETURN--In August, state authorities in various districts in Kompong Thom Province welcomed 69 misled persons who brought 28 weapons and presented themselves to authorities to be reunited with the revolution. Each returnee spoke clearly about the hardship during his stay with the bandits due to shortages of food, shelter, clothing, and medicine. Furthermore, they spoke about their low morale in fighting against the revolutionary forces and the Vietnamese Volunteer Army. Through these statements, the misled persons expressed their awakened spirit on leaving the enemy ranks to surrender to the revolutionary state authorities. The lenient policy of the party and state and the assistance [word indistinct] local authorities and people have provided the 69 people a new and peaceful life with their families. They have firm faith in the new regime and have pledged to spare no effort in contributing to revolutionary movements. [Text] [Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 85]

POL POT SOLDIERS KILLED--Recently the security forces of Kampot Province, in close cooperation with the commune militia forces and Vietnamese Army volunteers, launched a sweeping operation against Pol Pot elements hiding in the mountains and scored huge successes. They killed 21, wounded 20, and captured 2 enemy soldiers and seized 21 assorted weapons, 100 AK rounds, 5 mines, 1 walkie-talkie, 550 kg of rice, 550 kg of corn, and a large quantity of war materiel. The fraternal security forces of Kompot Province also persuaded 13 misled persons into surrendering to the revolutionary power, bringing along 2 weapons and unmasking 31 enemy elements planted among the people. All the misled persons were warmly welcomed by the revolutionary authorities who strictly applied the 6-point policy of leniency advocated by the party and state on the returnees, creating conditions for them to be reunited with their families and to engage in production in solidarity groups like any other citizen in the country. [Text] [Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 20 Sep 85]

CSO: 4212/109

MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

APPLICATION OF RESISTANCE WAR TRAINING EXPERIENCE ADVOCATED

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Jun 85 pp 30-38

[Article by Lt Gen Pham Hong Son: "Apply Resistance War Military Training Experiences to Our Army's Present Training Conditions"]

[Text]

I

Under the correct leadership of the Party, and on the basis of the strength of the entire population, our people's armed forces, which have developed from small units with primitive equipment to powerful, elite units which, along with the entire population, have defeated wars of aggression by brutal imperialists, achieved resounding feats of arms, and wrote the most glorious pages in the nation's history. The actual situation of that combat and those glorious victories prove that the Vietnam People's Army is an elite army that has defeated many enemies, from the French Expeditionary Army, the Americans, and the puppet army in the south to such U.S. vassals as South Korean, Thai, and Australian troops, reactionary Laotian and Cambodian troops, etc. Advancing from guerrilla warfare, our army has not only waged guerrilla warfare but has also skillfully waged conventional warfare, fought large combined arms battles and campaigns, and annihilated large numbers of enemy troops, outstanding among which was the historic Ho Chi Minh Campaign of the Spring of 1975. Although our technical combat arms were still young, fully understanding the people's war thought of our Party, they also developed great fighting strength and defeated the large modern air forces of the U.S. imperialists. Our army's cadres have matured outstandingly in protracted combat, firmly grasped and creatively applied the military art of Vietnamese people's war, and defeated all operational measures of the enemy under different warconditions and circumstances and on many battlefields in our country and on the Indochinese Peninsula.

Those victories by our army were the combined results of many factors, among which the task of training the army plays an important role. It may be affirmed that if the long years of fierce combat under extremely difficult conditions we had not have given proper attention to military training, or creatively and intelligently resolved all problems regarding military training in a manner appropriate to our actual conditions in each period of time and throughout the war, our army could not have matured rapidly and it would have been difficult to attain our army's resounding victories in war.

From that we can realize even more clearly that our army's military training experiences in the anti-French and anti-U.S. resistance wars were very meaningful and extremely precious. Doing a good job of recapitulating those experiences, fully explaining to the cadres the experiences that have been recapitulated, and creatively applying those experiences to military training at present are important conditions for ensuring that our army's military training advances in the right direction and avoids the mistakes of dogmatism and conservatism.

Our military training experiences in the resistance wars were very rich. Here, in the scope of a short article and because the thought capability of one person is limited, I would like to, on the basis of the present military training requirements of our army, set forth some of our principal experiences in military training during the resistance wars so that we can study and apply them in order to improve the quality of our military training at present.

I believe that those major experience lessons are:

1. Good training of basic units at the company level or lower. Enlisted men had to fully grasp techniques and know how to maintain and use facilities and weapons well under all combat conditions, day and night. The units from the squad level up to the company level had to be expert in the most frequently used tactics in order to fight the enemy offensively and fight back when they attacked us, with principal emphasis on the offensive.
  2. From the company level up to the regimental level troops had to be trained to operate independently and also know how to fight in an upper-echelon formation. Each echelon had to firmly grasp the tactics of that echelon, but also had to grasp the combat methods when part of an upper-echelon formation. Study had to have the goal of making good use of the equipment and manpower of one's own echelon, but there must also had to be training when forces were increased by the upper echelon.
  3. The main-force units had to emphasize combined combat arms operations, but knew how to fight independently, by each unit, combat arm, or armed forces branch, when necessary.
- The local units emphasized independent combat but also knew how to fight in a dispersed manner, how to wage guerrilla warfare, and how to coordinate with the main-force units.
4. Actual combat was always used as the standard for evaluating the results of training, and attention was paid to isolating experiences and recapitulating training contents in order to supplement and perfect the training contents regarding the enemy, ourselves, techniques, tactics, and campaign art. Training organization and methods were improved so that they could meet the requirements of combat.
  5. In cadre training, study in schools was combined with on-the-job training. Cadres both fulfilled their missions and studied. For cadres who both fulfilled their missions and study, emphasis was on training in combat, before combat, and after combat, and in conferences to recapitulate battles

and campaigns. As for cadres who studied in schools, the slogan was tying in the schools with the battlefields and units.

6. In war, attention was always paid to basing training contents on actual combat and to eliminating inappropriate contents. We still remember that after the anti-French resistance war, in the mid-1950's, when our army began conventional training, at one time our cadres were dogmatic and mechanical in studying the experiences of other armies. But because we adhered closely to the actualities of war we rapidly overcame problems and set forth training guidelines that were appropriate to the battlefield requirements when we began the anti-U.S. resistance war.

## II

1. After the complete victory of the anti-U.S. resistance war for national salvation and the unification of the nation, our country's revolution changed over to the period of building and defending the socialist homeland. Because of the aggression of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists against our country, our country was in a situation of both being at peace having to continually cope with the sabotage plots and wars of aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in league with the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. At the same time, we had to prepare to cope with the possibility of the enemy waging a larger scale of aggression in hopes of annexing Vietnam and the Indochinese countries.

Ten years have past since the sound of anti-U.S. gunfire ceased. Although there has been no nationwide war, as during the anti-U.S. resistance war, at practically all times a considerable part of our forces have had to operate on the different battlefields. The Beijing reactionaries have used many kinds of warfare to oppose our country's revolution. They guided their Pol Pot reactionaries in starting a war of aggression against our country along the southwestern border. They used 600,000 Chinese troops, including many corps, who impetuously launched aggressive attacks all along our country's northern border. At present, they are waging a border encroachment war in hopes of nibbling away at our territory, while also continuing to promote their many-sided war of destruction in the interior of our country. The Beijing reactionaries are also waging a border encroachment war and are carrying out sabotage and overthrowing plots in Laos and Cambodia. To fulfill our combat alliance obligations toward Laos and Cambodia, part of the Vietnamese volunteer forces have fought shoulder-to-shoulder with the armed forces of our friends for many years in order to contribute, along with our friends, to defending their independence and sovereignty against the "guerrilla warfare" and counterrevolutionary warfare of the reactionary lackeys commanded and guided by China on those battlefields.

Along with their war of destruction and encroachment war, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have continued to eagerly wage a larger scale of aggression in hopes of conquering the three Indochinese countries. They have used a large military force, made up of many combat arms and armed forces branches and combat arms to put pressure on our country's borders and threaten to attack our country by land, air, and sea.

Therefore, our army must always be prepared to fight, and in fact have fought and are fighting, against many different objectives in many types of warfare waged by the enemy, in Vietnam and all over the Indochinese Peninsula.

In addition to its combat readiness and combat missions, our army must continue to promote the construction work in order to strengthen its revolutionary will and improve its conventional, modern nature and its combat readiness level. That is an objective requirement of our army's new development that is intended to enable our army to have great new fighting strength so that it can serve as the hard core for the entire population in defeating all aggressive war plots and acts of the enemy under all circumstances. As we all know, in comparison to the concluding period of the anti-U.S. resistance war, today our army is much larger and stronger organizationally and has been equipped with many additional modern facilities and weapons. Our army has all kinds of armed forces branches--infantry, air defense, air force, and navy--with the necessary modern technical combat arms. The infantry have many corps and combined combat arms corps with relatively modern equipment, with increased assault force, firepower, and mobility. The mechanization of many corps and combat arms has been raised to a new level.

That situation and those missions demand that our army be built up and trained so that it can be prepared to defeat many different opponents in many different circumstances and forms of warfare. It must be skilled both in coordinated combat by the armed forces branches and combat arms on a large scale and in independent, small-scale fighting when necessary. It must be able to fight on all kinds of terrain and under many different conditions on battlefields in our country and in the Indochinese countries.

Is that not a major characteristic of the military missions which govern the military training of our army in comparison to the armies of many other countries? Only if that point is firmly grasped can there be a basis on which to correctly resolve the problems of our military training at present.

2. From the complicated, varied nature of the requirements of our army's combat missions, as stated above, we can see that a major question that has arisen is how our troops must be trained militarily so that our troops can fulfill well those complicated, varied combat missions. Is it that when the units have different missions or fight on different battlefields and in many different kinds of war waged by the enemy we must emphasize training based on the missions of each units and not train in accordance with basic, unified contents?

Such is not the case. In the recent resistance war our army also had to fight against many opponents, cope with many war strategies of the enemy, and operate on many battlefields. Our army's units fought at many levels, from the squad, platoon, and company levels to the regimental and corps levels, and in campaigns in which many corps, combat arms, and armed forces branches were used. With regard to military training, at that time our main-force troops were still trained according to the basic, unified contents of the Ministry of National Defense. When the units were assigned specific campaign or combat missions they received supplementary training in the necessary subjects to meet the specific requirements of the battlefield.

In applying those experiences to the present situation, especially at a time when our army is steadily advancing to a conventional, modern status, we must carry out training according to the principle set forth by the Ministry long ago: emphasizing training according to basic, comprehensive, unified contents, but on that basis also providing supplementary training according to the requirements of the combat missions of each unit and each specific campaign and battle. Both aspects of training are important and are closely related.

The important matter is to determine the basic, comprehensive, all-round contents to correctly reflect the basic, common requirements and extend them to all armed forces branches and combat arms. They must meet the requirements of the combat missions and the development of our armed forces, and our military science and art in each period.

On the basis of the capabilities of our country's economy and transportation capabilities in future years, and on the basis of our actual situation of having to rely on the modern equipment and weapons of the Soviet Union for a long time, we can affirm that, in general, on the land battlefields and in coordinated combat arms and armed forces branches, we still must make the ground forces the key armed forces branch. In the ground forces, the infantry are the principal forces and the tank-armored forces are important assault forces. At the same time, it is necessary to develop to a high degree the effect of the other combat arms and armed forces branches--the air defense, air force, and the navy--in coordinated combat. In general, in campaigns our army cannot yet use the tank-armored troops or the mechanized infantry as the principal assault force to decide campaigns and battles, although we must endeavor to fully develop the assault and deep-penetration strength of each existing or future tank-armored unit or mechanized army unit. With regard to the artillery, in general we are not yet capable of using artillery shells and bombs to fulfill the requirement of killing one-third to one-half of the enemy manpower to aid the infantry and the tank-armored forces win battles, as do the other modern armies. We still must figure out how to ensure the highest degree of lethality for each shell and bomb in order to fulfill the tactical and campaign requirements by using rational amounts of shells and bombs.

Therefore, we still must emphasize training in close-in fighting, night fighting, fighting rapidly and winning quick victories, manifesting a strong fighting spirit, using resourceful and flexible fighting methods, winning big victories with small resources, using high quality to defeat large numbers, and fully utilizing and developing all modern and nonmodern weapons and equipment to defeat the enemy troops.

If troops are trained to have such strong combat skills, when there are conditions for concentrating greater technical facilities than the enemy, such as in decisive campaigns and battles, we will have even greater conditions for winning great victories.

From the experiences of the last years of the anti-U.S. resistance war it can be seen that the tactical forms of attacking the enemy in solid fortifications and attacking the enemy while they are on the move or have temporarily stopped, or when on the defensive, with the coordination of combat arms and

armed forces branches to differing degrees, on the basis of emphasizing the infantry, can and must be applied by our army in people's war to defend the homeland. We do not yet have sufficient conditions, and even if in the future our army has more modern equipment we still will not adopt the policy of fighting by relying on iron and steel, bombs and shells, and tanks and armored vehicles to defeat the enemy troops.

On the basis of bringing into play the all-round strength of the entire population in fighting the enemy, we must make the people's armed forces the hard core, combine the two war-waging modes, combine the three kinds of troops, fully understand the strategic thought gaining mastery and attacking, attacking and gaining mastery, creatively apply the art of creating opportunity and gaining superiority (taking advantage of weaknesses and restricting the strengths of the enemy, and bringing into play the rich, resourceful fighting methods of people's war. Those are still the core contents of the military science and art of people's war to defend the socialist homeland and must be fully manifested in military training, in both campaign and tactical training.

If our basic training contents manifest and correctly reflect those matters, we will create for the troops strong basic skills that are appropriate to our actual conditions, and on that basis, when the troops are assigned specific combat missions we can do a good job of supplementary training in the necessary contents, which are appropriate to the specific situation. Our army will thus be capable of fulfilling all of its combat missions well and defeating all enemies.

3. On the basis of the characteristics of those training missions and guidelines, at present the military work must grasp and resolve well a number of problems:

Firmly grasp the building and training of truly strong basic units from the company level on down. Only if the basic units are strong can the army be strong, just as a house can be strong only if it has a solid foundation.

Attention must be paid to each soldier, squad, and gun crew, and to groups responsible for weapons, facilities, and equipment, to create a basis on which to develop the effectiveness of the company echelon to the highest degree. In order to fulfill that requirement, a very important matter is that there must be skilled company cadres who know how to train and grasp the technical and tactical levels of all soldiers, squads, and platoons in the company.

It is necessary to pay all-out attention to training the basic-level units so that they can fight skilfully by means of their equipment capabilities, without relying on firepower support by the upper echelon. The actual situation on the battlefield at present show that whenever the basic cadres encounter the enemy they immediately think about requesting artillery and air support, instead of first concentrating on bringing into play all firepower in the company to fight the enemy. Today, our army has many more modern weapons and facilities than in the past. We must concentrate on training to enable our troops, and all cadres, enlisted men, and basic detachments to firmly

grasp and highly develop all of those new weapons and technical facilities, as effectively and in a manner appropriate to our conditions. We must train all cadres and men, and all basic units to manage and use equipment and weapons with the highest effectiveness and the expenditure of the least amount of ammunition. Everyone must be made to clearly realize that we cannot use ammunition with the same intensity as the armies of other nations with large, modern industries. The simple reason is that the facilities, weapons, and ammunition now possessed by our army are still dependent on international assistance. Furthermore, should a large-scale war break out it would not be easy to continue such aid. The main-force units up to the division level should also be trained in that manner, for with regard to tactics the principles are the same at all echelons. If tactics at the company and platoon levels are firmly grasped, when fighting in upper-echelon formations such units can fulfill the mission of being part of an over-all tactical formation and be more capable of acting in a unified and flexible manner, for they will understand their role in such a formation. If we only train troops to fight in upper-echelon formations, when fighting independently the troops will be unable to fulfill their missions and may be inflexible in applying tactics and in coordinated combat. There must be a rational arrangement with regard to the training contents, programs, and times to enable the troops to both fight independently and fight in upper-echelon formations, and to enable both aspects to be combined harmoniously with each other in the training process.

It is also necessary to train the troops to effectively use the equipment in their TO & E, while at the same time training them to make effective use of equipment and weapons supplied by the upper echelon.

Under the present conditions, our divisions and corps have the nature of combined arms units and fight in coordination with armed forces branches and combat arms, so training in coordination with combat arms and armed forces branches, especially in coordination of infantry, artillery, and tank-armored troops, at times with air support, plays an extremely important role. Therefore, in addition to training with existing equipment when studying tactics at the unit's echelon, and much attention must be paid to training when the upper echelon provides additional facilities and weapons in the TO & E of the highest echelon of one's unit.

An important problem that has been posed for cadres at the battalion, regiment, or higher levels: they must master the facilities and weapons in the TO & E and those provided by the upper echelon, and must know how to organize and command combined arms operations, in order to create the greatest combined strength of the combat arms participating in the combat. The organization of coordinated operations and the organization of combined arms command at all echelons are important matters that must be the subjects of thorough training. With regard to our army at present, it is not unusual for an infantry regiment to be reinforced by an artillery battalion and a tank battalion in combat. Most of our combined arms unit command cadres were originally infantry cadres. Therefore, they often reveal deficiencies and weaknesses in commanding combined arms operations, such as failure to develop to a high degree the effectiveness of tank-armored units sent as reinforcements, or to coordinate closely with air support. It is necessary to



thoroughly train cadres so that they can grasp the organization of firepower, including pre-assault firepower, supporting assault firepower, and supporting offensive firepower. Cadres must be trained to skilfully organize firepower in defensive combat. They must be trained in commanding the close coordination of combat arms in the preparatory phase and during battles and campaigns. Commanders must be trained to effectively use the organs and facilities of the command headquarters of the combined combat arms commanders. The commanders must be enabled to have appropriate work styles, know how to correctly determine the position of commanders in all phases of battles and campaigns, and know how to go down to the lower echelon to command when the situation demands.

In order to make military training appropriate to the actual combat situation, we must always stress isolating combat experiences to supplement and perfect training contents, organization, and methods. At present, our enemies are continually attacking along the borders of the three Indochinese countries, and are promoting a many-sided war of destruction in our interior in hopes of "bleeding" us in a protracted war of attrition. The continuous battles fought since 1977 on the battlefields of the three Indochinese countries must be carefully studied and added to the training contents. The combat units must be closely tied in with the rear area units, and the present combat experiences must receive attention, no matter who the opponent is.

The combat experiences of the war to defend the homeland in February 1979 and the recent combat experiences along the northern border against border encroachment by the Chinese troops and the combat experiences on the Cambodian battlefield have great value. Because we know how to stress the recapitulation of experiences, we have seen more and more clearly the new requirements that have arisen in combat to oppose new enemy aggressors. But it is regrettable that there are still a number of our cadres who have not yet grasped those valuable experiences, have not disseminated them, or still view the study of experiences lightly.

Of course, when the enemy start a large-scale war of aggression many new problems may emerge. We must endeavor to examine and study to correctly predict the operational laws of the enemy, in order to add new training subjects.

4. Building and training the corps of cadres is a central task in building the army. Cadres are also one of the main categories of the troop training work. Under the conditions of simultaneously building and fighting, cadre training must have appropriate policies and organizational measures. Our present policy is to combine in-school training with on-the-job training for cadres. Under the conditions of most of the nation being at peace, the training of cadres in schools is extremely important.

So that in-school training can attain good results and enable cadres to have solid skills which are appropriate to the actualities of war, the contents of cadre training in institutes and officers' schools must be unified from top to bottom and appropriate to the requirements of war.

On the basis of the requirements of our army's combat missions and our actual conditions, we must firmly grasp our combat experiences and selectively study the experiences of our friends in order to supplement our experiences and apply them creatively to our actual conditions. We must go all-out to study in order to grasp the actual nature and essence of Soviet military science and always emphasize creativity in applying them, and avoid being imitative and mechanical.

On-the-job training for cadres is at present one of our very important training organization methods. It may be said that most of our cadres must study while working or fighting. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the quality of on-the-job training for cadres. We have many experiences regarding the organizational forms of on-the-job training for cadres and forging cadres in actual combat. I believe that the direction for improving the quality of on-the-job training for cadres is to raise the requirements of study and training. The contents of on-the-job training must be selected in a systematic, basic, and comprehensive manner, and the training methods must be strict, truly effective, and appropriate to the circumstances of studying while working or fighting. The tendency to denigrate the results of on-the-job training must be avoided and there must be forms for mobilizing, encouraging, and creating favorable conditions for cadres to attain results in on-the-job training that are real and appropriate to the army's developmental requirements.

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MILITARY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC SECURITY

OFFICER WRITES ON DEFEATING WAR OF DESTRUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese Jun 85 pp 47-57

[Article by Colonel Le Tien: "The People's Armed Forces and the Mission of Defeating the Enemy's Many-Sided War of Aggression"]

[Text] As we all know, since the beginning of April 1984 the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have climbed to a new rung on the ladder of escalation in their armed encroachments along our northern border and have developed their encroachment activities into a border encroachment war.

The "Chinese expansionists' promotion of an encroachment war along the northern border, while at the same time feverishly intensifying their many-sided war of destruction activities" (Notice of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, Fifth Term), accompanied by their efforts to prepare for a large-scale war of aggression against our country, prove that their basic, long-range plot to weaken and annex our country and all three Indochinese countries has not change, but has become even more reactionary.

At present the enemy are feverishly waging and combining a war of destruction and an encroachment war to carry out that nefarious plot. It would be incorrect to see only the enemy's acts of destruction but not realize their new escalation in their armed border encroachment activities, but only seeing the border encroachment war and neglecting the enemy's war of destruction will lead to distortions and mistakes in thought and action. At the same time, it is necessary to realize even more profoundly the reciprocal effect between the two wars the enemy are waging against our country. The enemy are stepping up their border encroachment war and preparing for a large-scale war of aggression to create military pressure, in hopes of affecting our country's over-all economic, political, and social situation and create conditions for stepping up their war of destruction in all regards. On the other hand, stepping up their war of destruction also serves their border encroachment war and their preparations for a large-scale war of aggression. For our part, to defeat the enemy's border encroachment war, strengthen national defense, and participate in economic construction and socialist construction is to contribute to defeating the enemy's many-sided war of destruction while at the same time carrying out all tasks well in order to contribute to defeating the enemy's war of destruction and creating conditions for defeating their border encroachment war and repulsing their large-scale war of aggression.

In this article we will, on the basis of the actual situation of the fight against the enemy's war of destruction by units throughout the army in recent years, focus on some major problems regarding the enemy's sabotage modes and schemes toward our armed forces and the contents and measures of the fight against the war of destruction which the armed forces must carry out in order to contribute, along with the entire Party and entire population, to defeating the war of destruction being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

To attain their strategic goal of weakening us and creating chaos in order to overthrow our regime and annex our country without having to wage a large-scale war of aggression, the enemy have used many methods to sabotage us in many ways:

--They have engaged in both secret and open sabotage activities, closely combined secret sabotage with open sabotage, and made secret sabotage a widespread, dangerous activity because they are able to take advantage of the element of surprise in opposing us.

--Engaging in sabotage activities at the front and in our rear area, and closely combining sabotage at the front with sabotage in the rear area, or not distinguishing between the front and the rear area. Coordinating sabotage activities in all three countries--Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia--in order to create hostility among, provoke, and separate the three nations from one another and from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

--Engaging in sabotage activities both with the Party state, army, public security, and mass association organizations and within society at large, closely combining internal sabotage with external sabotage, and making internal sabotage the main concern because that is the decisive factor.

--Engaging in many aspects of sabotage--political, ideological, military, cultural, social, diplomatic, etc.--and closely combining the various aspects and concentrating on political-ideological sabotage to obtain the objectives of creating rebellion and overthrowing us.

It may be said that those are the enemy's general operational modes. But those are not identical everywhere and at all times: at places and at times the enemy use different a sabotage activities which are appropriate to the specific conditions of each area and objective.

The people's armed forces are the hard-core forces of the people in the enterprise of defending the socialist homeland. Therefore, the enemy always regard them as an especially important objective under the conditions of their war of destruction, and also sabotage our armed forces continually in many regards, with very insidious schemes the most outstanding of which are:

1. Intelligence activities to collect or steal military and national defense secrets and secrets about the internal situation of the armed forces.

The enemy's intelligence activities in all spheres always precede their other activities and are carried out continually and without interruption. The most

important objectives of the enemy are the strategic organs and such key elements in the army as cryptography, operations, classified documents, mobilization organization, etc.

Intelligence activities are intended to serve the other sabotage activities. On the other hand, it also builds on the results of the sabotage activities to promote the intelligence work. For example, the enemy use our internal situation to serve their psychological warfare activities. If their psychological warfare activities persuade some of our people to join their ranks, their intelligence activities will have additional sources and the enemy will have a new basis on which to continue to expand their intelligence network. If the enemy are to defeat us militarily they must first of all collect or steal our military secrets, for only if the enemy learn our secrets can their sabotage activities avoid defeat.

The enemy's intelligence activities on the military front include strategic intelligence, campaign intelligence, tactical intelligence, combat intelligence, and in-depth intelligence about our armed forces branches and technical combat arms. The enemy's intelligence activities are intended to serve their present attacks against us and accumulate situation in preparation for a large-scale war of aggression.

The enemy's intelligence apparatus is made up of many forces:

--Traitors and spies who are planted deeply in our internal ranks and in our interior. They are usually spies who were planted long ago or who were recently recruited from among the bad elements who fled abroad, were trained and assigned missions, and were sent back into Vietnam by many different means. They attempt to establish ties, organize forces, then plant people in our interior and in the Party and state, in the army, etc., by recruiting cadres, workers, civil servants, students, and military personnel, or by means of such insidious schemes as winning over dissatisfied, opposition elements, corrupting cadres, civil servants, and armed forces personnel who are weak politically and lead debauched lives, then bribe them and coerce them into serving as their lackeys and transform them into dangerous spies.

--A network of "shuttle spies" who cross the border to fulfill the mission of contacting the planted spies to pass on instructions and assign missions and to take reports and intelligence information back to headquarters. Those spies are recruited in essentially the same way as the planted spies and traitors are recruited, but the "shuttle spies" usually have circumstances and occupations which are appropriate to such travel, such as merchants, native doctors, sorcerers, etc., so that they can easily conceal their activities and throw us off their trail. When establishing contact with the planted spies and traitors they usually communicate with one another via "living mail boxes" or "dead mail boxes. They seldom meet directly, so that the entire network will not be broken up if a spy is discovered.

--Commando and reconnaissance forces collect intelligence information by direct observation, tapping telephone lines, and photographing objectives, and also engage in sabotage activities and seek ways to kidnap our cadres and men so that they can be taken to intelligence centers for interrogation. Those

forces are organized interrogation. Those forces are organized as a special combat arm, are fully trained according to their functions and occupations, and are equipped with specialized weapons and equipment which are used in the missions assigned them. The enemy often recruit people from among local people who have fled abroad, or train deserters and traitors and send them back into Vietnam. The activities of the spies, commandoes, and reconnaissance personnel are usually dispersed and mobile, and they secretly infiltrate our territory and rear area by land, sea, and air.

When infiltrating our territory and approaching our military installations they are usually disguised as local people pretend to be cadres or forestry or geological personnel, and at times pretend to be our troops. The activities of spies, commandoes, and reconnaissance personnel are usually stipulated with regard to time and space, depending on the missions of each group. They are equipped with long-range radios or walkie-talkies to report their information to headquarters. Sometimes they also contact planted spies, spot targets for artillery and air strikes, or guiding troops operating behind our lines to our headquarters and rear areas.

--A network of spies disguised as diplomats, news correspondents, tourists, etc., who seek out information, make direct observations, and photograph our important military installations. In some cases they also contact planted spies to pass on missions and instructions and relay intelligence information from them to headquarters. The enemy give basic training to such spies in openly collecting information and serving as spies. Their areas of operation are usually diplomatic receptions, news conferences, tea houses, hotels, restaurants, dance halls, official visits, etc. They often take advantage of their pretended profession to contact our cadres and organ personnel to collect intelligence information and contact planted spies.

--Technical intelligence personnel, including cryptanalysts who specialize in deciphering messages we send and in analyzing the traffic of our radio stations. Aerial reconnaissance personnel photograph terrain and our activities on land so that they can monitor the movement of our forces and the deployment of our positions and forces. The cryptanalysts and aerial reconnaissance personnel often cooperate closely in intercepting signals and determining the coordinates of our military communications bases and in monitoring the movement of our forces, materiel, and technical equipment, in order to analyze our situation.

--Intelligence personnel who specialize in collecting information by researching our open materials, books, newspapers, and newscasts, including the central-echelon press, the local press, radio news programs and internal news letters. They are usually planted in embassies, consulates, and other diplomatic organs of the imperialist nations and their lackeys, which are in fact general intelligence organs which research the open information they collect. The value of that intelligence information depends on how careless we are in writing newspaper articles, releasing news, etc.

Those kinds of enemy spies are dangerous, but the most dangerous are the internal spies, for they are deeply planted within our ranks and thus are able

to penetrate deeply and rise high to steal our strategic secrets and serve their long-range strategic plots.

2. Sabotaging material-technical bases and reducing the fighting strength of our armed forces.

Sabotaging the material-technical bases of our armed forces and the material bases of our socialist economy is one of the insidious strategic plots of the many-sided war of destruction.

The material-technical bases of the armed forces are of two types: one type supports everyday life and activities, such as providing food, uniforms, medicine, military equipment, etc., and one type provides such combat facilities as weapons, equipment, airplanes, ships, tanks, trucks, national defense industrial plants, and strategic and campaign depots. Those material-technical bases are both military and national defense potential and important objectives the destruction of which would weaken our national defense and economic capabilities, create difficulties for the lives of the people, create conditions for psychological warfare activities and political-ideological sabotage activities to weaken the combativeness of our armed forces.

The sabotaging of material-technical bases are very varied and sophisticated. In places and at times they use lackeys to directly carry out such sabotage. They also seek all ways to erode the moral quality and virtue of some of our cadres and men, which leads to such negative acts as stealing valuable parts or removing them from technical equipment, colluding to steal goods and technical materials, wasting state property, etc., which unintentionally helps the enemy carry out their sabotage. They even bribe, control, or coerce bad, debauched, and degenerate elements to serve as their lackeys to carry out their sabotage.

3. Political-ideological sabotage by means of psychological warfare schemes.

Psychological warfare activities and political-ideological sabotage are some of the strategic plots of the many-sided war of destruction and are intended to directly attain the strategic objective of fomenting rebellion and overthrowing us.

Political-ideological activities usually center around such specific contents as sabotaging confidence in the party's lines, organizational sabotage, sabotage of revolutionary will and morality.

On the one hand, by means of such mass information facilities as radio stations, loudspeakers, leaflets, etc., they directly attack our political, internal, external, external, military, economic, and other lines. Furthermore, they take advantage of our difficulties and deficiencies, engage in distorted, exaggerated propaganda, transform phenomena into nature, and distort our Party's revolutionary line. By that means they hope to create chaos in the consciousness and ideological viewpoints of the cadres and men, and confuse right and wrong and black and white in order to sow suspicion and weaken confidence in the party's revolutionary line and become disoriented in their activities.

They use money, goods, gold, and women to attack and control our cadres, party members, and servicemen in order to corrupt them. They focus above all on cadres and party members with high positions to corrupt them and then gradually bring them onto the path of debauchery and crime. They attack individuals, elements, and organizations, and cause the leadership and command organizations to be sullied and weakened and to lose their effectiveness. They use the schemes of inventing stories and spreading rumors to sabotage the confidence of the core cadres, resolute cadres and party members, especially the key leadership cadres in each unit. They seek to divide and provoke in order to destroy the solidarity and unit in the Party, divide military personnel from the people and the military personnel from the people and the army from the public security forces, sabotage the solidarity and militant alliance among the people and armies of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and between the three Indochinese countries and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

They propagate, sow, and encourage a hedonistic, individualistic way of life, fear of difficulty and hardship, pursuit of base material desires, concern for only one's own interests and disdain of goals and ideals, etc. With regard to the armed forces, they exaggerate the difficulties of the families of servicemen living in the rear area and the deprivations of the cadres and enlisted men themselves in hopes of causing suspicion and a lack of confidence in the policies of the Party and state and jealousy between the army and the public at large. They incite negativism and disgust and a lack of enthusiasm toward the army and the revolution, create a lack of clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves and between friends and enemies, and seek to cause our servicemen to let down their guard, fear hardships, lessen their will and sense of responsibility, and relax their discipline, so that they will eventually stop fulfilling their missions, desert and return home, or even flee abroad and serve as lackeys for the enemy and commit treason against the homeland. With regard to units which are fulfilling combat readiness and combat missions along the northern border, they also attempt to spread fear of an enemy who have many troops and weapons in order to create vacillation, fear of combat, a lack of confidence in victory, etc.

4. Activities to plant infrastructures, build forces, and surreptitiously foment insurrection and rebellion.

The planting of infrastructures and the building up of secret forces are very basic enemy activities, for ultimately there must be such forces to carry out their plot to overthrow us. If military intelligence activities are to have well-placed, important sources of information there must be spies who have infiltrated deep and risen high. Therefore, the enemy pay much attention to creating and planting infrastructures within our armed forces.

The social categories and bases usually used by the enemy as sources of support, and win over and organize, are ordinarily reactionaries among the Chinese population, people who have been infected by Maoist thought, reactionaries among the ethnic minority groups, reactionaries who fled abroad, dissatisfied elements in the organs and military units who have been criticized and warned because of jealousy regarding power, individual authority, or degeneration with regard to moral quality. Furthermore, because



they also plot to oppose the Vietnamese revolution the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists to a certain extent also make use of U.S. resources in the southern provinces, such as long-standing spies, reactionaries who were formerly members of the puppet army and administration or who are members of the Christian, Cao Dai, and Hoa Hao religions, people who fled abroad and became lackeys of the United States, etc.

At present, because they are not yet able to wage a large-scale war of aggression against our country and the three Indochinese countries, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are feverishly promoting a many-sided war of destruction all over our nation, and are both stepping up their border encroachment war in the north and closely combining the war of destruction with the border encroachment war, in hopes of carrying out their basic, long-range plan to weaken, overthrow, and annex our country.

With the foremost function of serving as the hard-core forces of the people in defending the homeland, our armed forces along the northern border must strengthen their fighting will, defeat the enemy's war of encroachment, and solidly defend the borders of the homeland. At the same time, it is necessary to be extremely vigilant and resolutely smash all sabotage plots and schemes of the enemy toward our armed forces and contribute positively to, along with the entire population, defeating the enemy's many-sided war of destruction.

Resolution 03/NQ-TW of the Political Bureau very clearly sets forth the guidance thoughts, missions, and major tasks of the entire Party, population, and army as well as each sector, battlefield, area, and force.

In this article, on the basis of studying and recapitulating the situation during several years of struggling against the war of destruction among the people's armed forces it is possible to isolate some principal contents and measures, which are intended to further promote activities against the war of destruction in accordance with guidelines and missions set forth by the Political Bureau.

1. First of all, it is necessary to stress study in order to understand the enemy.

In order to defeat the enemy it is necessary to understand them. The better we understand the enemy, the more certain and greater will our victories be. That is also one of the factors in winning victory in the struggle against the enemy's war of destruction. Understanding of the enemy cannot be superficial and general. We must have specific understanding of the enemy in the economic, political-ideological, cultural, military, and other spheres, and in the cities, the border areas, the Central Highland's etc., differ greatly with regards to plots, objectives, schemes, and models. Therefore, in order to understand the enemy we cannot restrict ourselves to their nature and strategic plots but must enter deeply into specific plots and schemes in each sphere and area and keep abreast of the changes affecting them in each period of the struggle.

We must understand and grasp the enemy's activities in all spheres and areas. The army forces must enter deeply into the enemy's schemes, plots, and

activities in the military and national defense spheres and in areas in which troops are stationed. Thus study of the enemy in the war of destruction has high, comprehensive requirements. The security, intelligence, and enemy proselytizing sectors are not the only ones engaged in studying and grasping the enemy's situation. All sectors, echelons, and units must understand the enemy and contribute to studying and understanding the enemy. The cadres and men must be provided essential knowledge of the enemy so that they can guard against them, expose them, and actively participate in struggling to defeat them.

Understanding of the enemy must be based on the specific functions and missions of one's sector, unit, or locality, in order to clearly understand the specific struggle objective of the sector, echelon, unit, or locality. At the same time, it is necessary to cooperate in order to develop the strength of the sectors, echelons, units, and localities in studying, grasping, and exposing the enemy. We must enter deeply into events that occur in order to clearly understand their nature and reasons, and on that basis expose and gain deep understanding of the enemy, and not neglect or overlook events that are minor but the nature and reasons of which are not clear. In examining and reaching conclusions about problems we must have a scientific, objective attitude and not be simplistic or one-sided. At the same time, we must be extremely vigilant toward the enemy's insidious, wily sabotage plots.

2. Protect military and national defense secrecy, oppose the enemy's intelligence activities.

The protection of military and national defense secrets must be carried out meticulously in many tasks, at many echelons, in many sectors, and in all units and organs by means of many measures, both ideological and organizational, and must be manifested in the form of truly meticulous rules, regulations, and stipulations, especially in the army's key organs and elements, in places where top secret and secret documents are written, transmitted, or stored, in centers where meetings are held to discuss and guide the work of the strategic organs and the leadership and command echelons, and the important points of contact within and without the army.

Ideologically, it is necessary to enable everyone, especially leadership and command cadres of all echelons and organs, to have a high degree of vigilance and a full sense of responsibility toward protecting and preserving all secrets in the sphere of the work of the sector or echelon, in all respects and at all times. They must take the initiative in guarding against and uncovering suspicious phenomena that occur in order to promptly take steps to deal with them, and struggle to prevent the enemy from stealing secrets.

Organizationally, it is above all necessary to ensure that people are selected and use in correct accordance with the standards, principles, and procedures. People should not be selected and used to do cryptographic work arbitrarily. At the same time, it is necessary to continually pay attention to managing and educating the cadres and personnel doing cryptographic work, so that they will not be won over and controlled by the enemy or sell themselves to the enemy.

The enforcement of rules, regulations, and stipulations must become an important, permanent leadership content of the Party and of commanders of all echelons and sectors. The responsibility and requirement of all cadres, enlisted men, and personnel to maintain secrecy must be concretized in accordance with the secrecy protection requirements of each sector, echelon, and individual, and must become specific rules and regulations of each sector, echelon, organ, and unit.

3. Solidly defend the political-ideological battlefield, take the initiative in smashing the enemy's psychological warfare.

This is an important measure of strategic, basic, and long-range significance. To fortify the armed forces politically and ideologically is to take the initiative in positively guarding against all sabotage activities of the enemy and is a solid basis on which to promptly uncover and smash all plots and schemes of the enemy and not allow them to control and create chaos in our internal ranks. That is also an important content in ensuring that the army continually maintains and develops its fine nature and tradition and builds a way of life with noble goals and ideals, one that is pure, wholesome, tightly organized, and strictly disciplined.

If we are to solidify the people's armed forces politically and ideologically we must build a solid political-ideological position at the basic unit level. Basic units that are strong comprehensively strong, with regard to politics, ideology, and organization, with truly pure and strong basic units serving as the hard core, are a basic conditions in order to build and consolidate the political-ideological battlefield.

If that is to be accomplished, with regard to political standpoints it is necessary to enable the cadres and men to clearly recognize the enemy--the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, not be vague or have illusions, not let down their guard, and fully realize their reactionary, criminal, dishonest, and wily nature. Attention must be paid to exposing their guises, such as pretending to be communists and revolutionaries, posing as Marxist-Leninists, etc. The enemy's specific war crimes should be used for educational purposes to increase hatred of the enemy.

We must continually bolster confidence in the revolutionary line of the Party, enable everyone to clearly realize the correctness and creativity of the revolutionary line and the revolutionary results that have been attained, and overcome all manifestations of suspicion and vacillation. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize responsibility to defend the Party's lines, and promptly uncovering and smashing all slander, distortions, and criticism of the Party's lines and leadership.

Attention must be paid to strengthening the revolutionary way of life of the cadres and men, overcoming hedonistic individualism, fear of difficulty, hardships, sacrifice, and making contributions, taking the easy way out, obliterate right and wrong etc. At the same time, it is necessary to be on guard against and struggle against penetration by the various kinds of reactionary, poisonous cultural products of the enemy and their schemes to weaken the revolutionary way of life of our cadres and men.

With regard to the organizational work, it is necessary to carry out all three aspects: closely controlling admission into the armed forces, exercising tight internal management, and promptly uncovering and dealing with degenerate elements who have entered the units, and enabling the units to always maintain political purity and not have organizational deficiencies of which the enemy can take advantage to gain a foothold, create infrastructures, and sabotage us internally.

Therefore, in recruiting the people to enter the armed forces, selecting technical personnel, selecting people to serve in the key organs, selecting students to enter the officers' schools etc., it is necessary to ensure political standards, enforce the principles and procedures strictly and tightly, and not be lax, arbitrary, partial, or indulgent.

Internal management must receive attention. The command cadres must closely manage their men and the party chapters must tightly manage the cadres and party members. Everyone must submit to the management of the organization, without exception. The functional organs helping the commanders manage their men must do a good job of fulfilling the missions and functions of their sector or echelons and help the commanders manage the units.

4. Protect people and material-technical bases and oppose the enemy's assassination and sabotage activities.

Struggling against the enemy's assassinations and sabotage of material-technical bases is a task with extremely strict requirements.

First of all, it is necessary to orient the protection work toward the key objectives of each echelon and sector to ensure absolute safety for the key leaders and commanders, the key organs, strategic reserve depots, factories, important national defense installations, etc.

The contents and implementation measures must be comprehensive: tight prevention, both open and secret, inside and outside; protecting both people and organizations; fully and meticulously enforcing the specific bylaws and fences, shelters, obstacles, etc. In studying national defense production, attention must be paid to protecting technical facilities so that the enemy cannot carry out sabotage by technical means. Special attention must be paid to protecting people politically and not allowing the enemy to corrupt them, then use them to attack us and combine internal attacks with external attacks.

5. Creating safe areas and strong area security and political protection, and being prepared to smash all enemy plots to foment rebellion and overthrow us.

The army's rear areas and rear areas in which its units are stationed are integrally related to society. In order to attack our army the enemy often take advantage of the social environment. Therefore, in order to ensure internal security it is necessary to do a good job of protecting the outer perimeter, closely combine the interior and exterior so that they can bring into play combined strength, and build safe areas and strong political security in order to guard against the enemy, fight the enemy, and defend themselves.

Security and national defense are very closely related in the enterprise of defending the homeland and in the struggle against the enemy's war of destruction and border encroachment war. The People's Public Security forces and the People's Army--sharp tools of violence of the Party and state--have the duty of opposing domestic and foreign enemies, maintaining political security and social order and safety and defending the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the homeland in accordance with their functions. The People's Public Security Forces and the People's Army are also forces which support the people in the struggle against the war of destruction. That relationship is extremely close and must be manifested specifically in action.

In the areas in which troops are stationed and where supply depots and key national defense installations and factories and organs are located, the army units must take the initiative in cooperating with the public security forces, the governmental administrations, and the mass associations in accordance with a common plan, under the centralized, unified leadership of the local party committees, in order to create secure areas and maintain absolute safety in all regards. Special attention must be paid to unifying the operational plans in accordance with the estimated situation, bringing into play the centralized, unified strength of the public security forces, the army, the militia, the self-defense forces, and the political of the forces of the people, and being prepared to smash all enemy plots to incite rebellion and cause trouble in areas where troops are stationed.

Furthermore, the army units, whether local troops or main-force troops, and whether combat units, military organs, or national defense enterprises, must heighten their sense of political responsibility and positively contribute to building localities that are strong in all regards, with regard to economics, national defense, political security, and social order and safety.

The fierce struggle against the many-sided war of destruction waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in league with the U.S. imperialists is part of the fierce struggle between the two paths in our people's socialist revolution, and of the present protracted struggle between positivism and negativism, and between progress and backwardness, in all spheres of our society.

Although the enemy have been struck with many painful blows their basic, long-range plots have not changed. Therefore, the struggle against their war of destruction and their war to encroachment upon our country's borders is still very difficult, complicated, fierce, and protracted, and is still an important, urgent political mission of our entire party, population, and army.

Concentrating on defeating the border encroachment war, remaining extremely vigilant, and stepping up the struggle against the enemy's many-sided war of destruction, our armed forces, with the experiences in fighting the enemy they have accumulated in recent years, are certain to take advantage of the advantages, overcome difficulties, and be worthy of being forces which effectively support the entire population in defeating the war of destruction waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

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## PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

### HO CHI MINH CITY PARTY COMMITTEES STRENGTHEN PUBLIC RELATIONS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 31 Jul 85 p 3

[Party Building Column: "Ho Chi Minh City: Party Committee Echelons Strengthen Public Relations Work"]

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Ho Chi Minh City Municipal Party Committee recently issued instructions guiding the party committee echelons in improving the quality of their public relations work and in considering and acting upon complaints, so that they can attain good results.

Since the issuance of Notice 22/TB-TU, dated 29 September 1984, of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee on the task of public relations in the party system, considering and acting on complaints and denunciations, and receiving recommendations from cadres, party members, and the people, have received more attention from the party committees and functional sections and sectors. A number of complaints which have been pigeonholed for years have been considered and acted upon, which has exerted a good influence among the masses. However, that work has not yet received adequate attention and many denunciations and complaints from the people have been set aside and resolved very slowly. Violations of the law regarding the resolution of complaints from citizens have not been dealt with adequately, which has caused the resolution of complaints and denunciations from citizens to encounter many difficulties and obstacles.

So that the party committee echelons can attain good results in considering and acting upon complaints, the Standing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee has adopted the following policy:

All complaints, denunciations, and recommendations submitted to the party committee echelons, state organs, and mass organizations by the cadres, party members, and people must be considered and acted upon promptly, properly, and thoroughly, and the originator must be informed of the results.

All party committee echelons, organs, and mass organizations must, within the sphere of their responsibility and authority, consider the opinions, complaints, and denunciations from the cadres, party members, and people seriously, so that they can be resolved fairly and in correct accordance with the lines and policies of the Party and the laws of the state. They must

always manifest respect for and bring into play the collective mastership right of the working people and ensure the right of citizens to complain in accordance with the law, and the democratic rights of party members according to the Party Statutes. It is necessary to severely criticize or appropriately punish people who violate the legitimate rights of citizens and those who seek revenge against people who make complaints, and to act upon complaints and denunciations by cadres, party members and the people. Resolute steps must be taken to protect people who dare to struggle to defend what is right and oppose negative acts.

The party committees must form public relations elements to study and make recommendations regarding ways to resolve complaints and denunciations sent by the cadres, workers, civil servants, and the masses to the party committee echelons. Those elements must have specialized cadres to assist in such matters and be under the control of the chairman of the standing committee of the party committee. The standing committee of the party committee must regularly--at least once a month--meet with the people and review and act on the complaints and denunciations of the cadres, party members, and people made to the party committee.

Cadres selected to do public relations work must have a correct class standpoint and mass viewpoint. At present, the public relations elements of the party committees are part of the party committee office. The Chief of Cabinet of the party committee helps members of the standing committee of the party committee handle daily relations in that work.

The party committees must organize guidance of the resolution of complaints and denunciations from the basic level. The People's Committee and the mass organizations, under the guidance of the party committees, coordinate with the governmental administrations and functional sections and sectors in handling such matters. After the basic level has acted the party concerned has the right to submit complaints and denunciations to the upper echelon. When it receives complaints, the upper echelon must consider why the complaint was made at the basic level, and why it was not resolved at that level. Only thereby is it possible to oversee the basic level, consolidate it, develop its role, limit negativism, develop democracy, and limit complaints to the lowest possible level.

The public relations element at a certain level is responsible for investigating and confirming forms and letters submitted to the party committee at that level, for reaching conclusions, and for making recommendations to the party committee so that it can guide their resolution.

The governmental administrations at all levels, the functional sections and sectors, and the heads of units must, on the basis of the functions, authority, missions, and guidance opinions of the party committee, consider and resolve complaints from citizens in accordance with the law.

The party control department must directly consider and resolve complaints regarding party discipline.

The party organization department must directly consider and resolve complaints regarding organization principles, regulations and policies, party activities, and the cadre-party member work, in accordance with managerial decentralization.

The internal affairs sectors, especially the inspection, procurate, public security, and court organs, must promptly consider and dispose of matters involving the violation of laws.

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9 October 1985

## ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE, AND FINANCE

## ELIMINATION OF BUREAUCRATIC-SUBSIDIZING SYSTEM URGED

Hanoi TAP CHI KE HOACH HOA in Vietnamese No 146, Jun 85 pp 2-4, 16

[Article by Vu Manh Tin: "Eliminate the Bureaucratic-Subsidizing System, Practice Absolute Economizing in Planning"]

[Text] Practicing economy in social production is a requirement of the economic law of steadily increasing labor productivity under socialism. That is also a principle of management organization and planning in a socialist economy. President Ho taught that in order to build socialism it is necessary to increase production and practice economy: "The increasing of production economizing in labor, time, and money--in order to increase production. Economizing helps to increase production and increasing production helps economizing attain good results." (1)

With regard to our country, which is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, it is even more important to regard the requirement of fully economizing in production and consumption as an urgent requirement, a strategy of economic and political importance, and a key focus for resolving difficulties and create forward impetus for the economy. "In order to fulfill that mission, planning--the central link of the economic management system--plays an important role in rationally organizing and distributing all forces of socialist production." (2)

The plans for the national economy as a whole, and for each sector, locality, and base, are tools and the strongest levers for mobilizing and using rationally and economically the sources of raw materials and the existing material-technical bases and production capacities, in order to stimulate the development of production and meet the needs of society. Those plans are syntheses of selected economic-technical draft plans, in which the principles of economizing and economic-social effectiveness are regarded as the most decisive standards.

However, in recent years the sectors and echelons have not yet fully understand the principle of economizing in drafting plans and organizing their fulfillment. We do not yet have good plans for mobilizing, and using rationally and economically, labor, land, forests, seas, and the existing material-technical bases. There is still serious waste. In many sectors economic-social effectiveness in the reproduction process is still too low.

That situation has been caused by objective and subjective factors. But it must be understood that slowness in eliminating the bureaucratic-subsidizing system and many deficiencies in plan drafting, which have caused considerable harm to the economy. The actual situation of planning and management in recent years has illuminated the fact that planning has always been an effective tool for organizing the practicing of economy on the scale of the national economy, but if its role is weakened, if planning and centralized, unified management are relaxed, and the material wealth of society is used arbitrarily, and if the plans that are drafted do not have scientific bases and economic effectiveness is not taken into account, there is a lack of positive economic measures to exploit all existing capabilities, and the plan contents are not complete and balanced and still contain negative, subsidizing factors, etc., then clearly the broader the scope of planning is the more waste and economic damage there will be.

In order to fully apply the principle of economizing, planning on a national scale and in each sector, locality, and base truly be comprehensively renovated with regard to contents and methods and it is necessary to resolutely eliminate the bureaucratic-subsidizing system and change over completely to a planning mechanism that is tied in with socialist economic-commercial accounting in order to ensure that plans are of high quality and effective. To meet that requirement, planning must undergo new transformations in accordance with the following guidelines regarding economizing.

First, attention must be paid to improving the plan contents. The basic content of plans of the sectors and echelons is to determine rational economic structures: the economic structure of the sectors, the structure of the central and local elements, and the regional economic structure and the mutually supporting relationship among the sectors in the region, the internal structures of the sectors, the structure of the economic components, the internal production structure of the basic units, etc.

The drafting of plans is a process of studying and selecting economic-technical programs, determining appropriate relationships, ratios, paths of advance, and scales on a scientific basis in order to gradually form economic structures that are appropriate to the nation as a whole or to each sector, locality, and base. Each rational economic structure that is formed both furthers the development of production and crates capabilities for economizing on and using more effectively natural resources and the existing production capabilities. For example, in agricultural production in the sphere of the district the determination of rational crop structures for the various seasons, a structure of new rice varieties that are appropriate and highly effective, along with the formation of joint relationships between cultivation and animal husbandry and between agriculture and industry, small industry, handicrafts, transportation, and circulation, which serve agricultural production, it will be possible to bring into play the economic strengths of the district, and increase the effectiveness of the use of land, labor, and the other resources. Ordinarily, creating a rational economic structure, even the production structure of a basic unit, brings about many economic results.

In order to improve the plan contents and enable plans to truly affect the formation of rational economic structures, it is first of all necessary to overcome bureaucratic plan drafting methods which merely calculate numbers. Plans must be tied in with rearranging and reorganizing production in each sector, locality, and base in accordance with the economic programs and draft plans and the draft plans for distributing production forces that have been selected.

The drafting of plans to form rational economic structures demands the creation of a system of plans which encompass all economic and social spheres, in which it is necessary to pay special attention to developing science and technology, distributing the labor forces, and investing in capital construction. Doing a good job of drafting and fulfilling plans not only affects the formation of rational economic structures but also directly results in the economic use of the labor, materials, and capital that are mobilized in the process of building economic structures in accordance with the plans that have been drafted.

Second, improving plan balancing. Maintaining continuous balance among the factors, sectors, and the links of the process of social reproduction is a requirement which ensures that the national economy develops at a rapid rate and that all material resources of society are mobilized and used rationally and economically.

In actual production, our country's economy has always had many imbalances, but because of the deficiencies in plan balancing in many sectors and localities there are still many obstacles in the production process, the effectiveness of production and commerce is low, and many capabilities regarding labor, land, materials, capital, etc., have not been fully utilized or have been used wastefully.

An urgent requirement at present is that under the conditions of our country advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and the economy still being beset with imbalances in many respects, planning must be renovated, must gradually take the initiative, and must ensure that production is balanced with those conditions. Plan balancing, oriented toward the fulfillment of that requirement, must do a good job of resolving the following principal problems:

Continuing to pay more attention to bringing into play the strengths and fully exploiting the four sources of capabilities in order to balance the plan needs. There must be plans and positive measures to mobilize and rationally utilize all capabilities with regard to labor, land, forests, the sea, and the existing material-technical bases. We must rely primarily on our domestic capabilities but we must expand foreign economic relations in order to take the initiative in meeting plan needs. During the recent period the sectors, localities, and bases have begun to take the initiative in exploiting those capabilities, but they have not included them in their plans or used them effectively.

In the situation of the needs of production, life, and national defense being very great, but the present capabilities of the economy still being limited,

in drafting plans at all levels it is necessary to correctly and rationally determine the needs. The plans at all levels must be oriented toward fulfilling the objectives of the state plan. It is necessary to concentrate all material forces in attaining the key objectives and fulfilling the urgent needs and principal missions. We must avoid setting uniform goals or distributing production forces equally, or arbitrarily adjusting and using material facilities and capital for the wrong goals or ineffectively.

When carrying out specific balancing, such as balancing labor, balancing capital construction capital, balancing exports, imports, and foreign exchange, or balancing materials, goods, and money, it is necessary to apply the economizing measures.

Third, drafting and fulfilling specific economizing plan norms and gradually planning the mission of increasing the effectiveness of production of the sectors and echelons.

The calculation of economizing norms is done in the process of drafting plans and balancing the elements of the production process, and forming the economic structures. In addition to fully understanding those economizing principles the echelons must include in their plans specific economizing norms and norms to improve production effectiveness, such as norms regarding the increasing of labor productivity, the decreasing of labor expenditures, the decreasing of materials expenditures per unit of production, the lowering of production costs, the lowering of the ratio of rejected products, the depletion and loss of materials and goods, the effective use of production capital, the improving of the effectiveness of investment in capital construction, etc.

In actuality, the sectors and echelons have not paid adequate attention to those norms and they are usually very negligent in drafting economizing plans, even neglecting to include the mission of endeavoring to practice economy. The bureaucratic-subsidizing mechanism has prevented the various echelons from heightening their sense of responsibility and discipline toward economizing on labor, materials, and state capital and has failed to encourage everyone to pay attention to results of practicing economy in production and consumption.

Implementing the mechanism of combining planning with socialist economic and commercial accounting, the sectors, localities, and bases must draft and fulfill the plan norms regarding economizing and regard them as indispensable parts of the units' unified plans.

It is necessary to accurately redefine the norms regarding the use of labor, materials, and capital, on the basis of which to endeavor to reduce expenses per unit of production. The norms regarding production costs and lowering production costs must be calculated fully and accurately to create an accurate basis of which to evaluate the quality of production and commercial activities of the sectors, the production bases, etc.

In addition to defining those plan norms, an even more important and pressing problem is planning ways to practice economy and having a program to attain the economizing norms that are set forth in each program. At present, it is

necessary to achieve real results in attaining the norms regarding economizing in materials, energy, and capital, in reducing losses caused by rejected products and poor storage that allows materials and goods to become ruined or lost, especially grain, POL, coal, cement, fertilizer, etc.; and in mobilizing and more rationally utilizing scrap materials (such as scrap paper, glass, shards, bottles, scrap steel, old rubber items, etc. and using domestic materials to replace imported materials.

Fourth, renovating the planning mechanism and strengthening the organization and management of plan fulfillment are decisive matters in practicing economy.

In recent years the maintenance of the bureaucratic-subsidizing system has not only caused the planning system to lose its effectiveness, but has also caused additional waste and the decline of production and commercial effectiveness.

Eliminating the bureaucratic-subsidizing system and changing over entirely to the mechanism of making planning the central concern and tying in planning with socialist economic and commercial planning will restore the socialist commercial management principles, impose a new order in management, and create upward momentum in the economy.

The new planning mechanism demands the full implementation of the mastership right regarding planning at the three basic echelons. Each echelon must manifest a sense of responsibility and discipline toward state plans and discipline regarding contracts, finance, the use of labor and materials, etc. At the same time, it must expand the right of the production and commercial bases, the sectors, and the localities to take the initiative in drafting and fulfilling plans and to have financial autonomy. The drafting of plans and the organization of their fulfillment by the sectors and echelons, tied in with the economic management policies and regulations, will more strongly affect the rational and economical use of labor, materials, and capital in production and commerce, and encourage the bases to be more concerned with productivity, quality, and production efficiency. Therefore, it is necessary to correctly apply the management policies and regulations in order to encourage the sectors and echelons to practice economy.

In implementing the new planning mechanism, the key matters in applying the economizing principle is to improve planning quality and ensure that plans are truly effective. To fulfill that requirement it is necessary to eliminate the bureaucratic-subsidizing planning methods and create centralized, unified, and dynamic planning forms, methods, measures, and regulations, combined with socialist accounting and commerce in drafting plans, synthesizing plans, defending plans, assigning official plans, organizing plan fulfillment, and balancing plans.

The effectiveness of plans and the organization and management of plan fulfillment play important roles in assuring the practicing of economy in social production. But at present they are weaknesses of the sectors and echelons.

The work of organizing and managing plan fulfillment of plans by the sectors, localities, and bases must ensure that the economic-social activities develop harmoniously and in balance, and attain high effectiveness, in accordance with the plan requirements. Failure by a basic unit to fulfill its obligation of producing and distributing products according to state plans, such as those regarding coal, electricity, wood, grain, etc., will cause major consequences and waste which will affect many economic sectors. The basic units must strengthen their sense of responsibility plan discipline and contracts, firmly grasp the plan objectives, concentrate forces on the key objectives and missions, and ensure that materials and money are used in correct accordance with the objectives and the current regulations, and attain high economic effectiveness.

The active, creative role of the sectors, localities, and bases in applying the organizational and managerial measures and forms has an important significance in creating a mass movement to increase production and practice economy. Along with applying the new mechanism it is necessary to improve organization and management, such as rectifying the organization of production, distribution, and circulation, and apply new management forms and measures regarding labor, materials, finances, etc.

In applying alleconomic, administrative, and educational measures it is necessary to pay all-out attention to controlling and implementing the plan balancing system at all planning levels and with regard to all production, distribution, and circulation activities, and to strictly implement the rewards and punishments system regarding the organizations, units, and individuals in the use of state property.

#### Footnotes

1. Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, 1960, p 393.
2. Ho Chi Minh, "Selected Works," Vol II, Su That Publishing House, 1980, p 214.

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ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE, AND FINANCE

MEETING HELD ON COMMERCIAL COOPERATION WITH STATE

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Tran Quan Thinh: "Exchange of Opinions On Commercial Cooperation Between the State and Private Individuals at the Binh Tay Market in Ho Chi Minh City"]

[Text] Commercial cooperation is now the subject of many questions that are being posed by the state managing organs, by private individuals who contribute capital and have professional skills to enter into joint operations, and even by the consumers. How will the state benefit, how will private individuals benefit, and how will consumers benefit?

In order to understand the initial commercial management situation at the commercial cooperation stores at the Binh Tay market, the newspaper SAIGON GIAI PHONG recently organized an exchange of opinions among more than 50 private proprietors who are cooperating with the state. They frankly discussed the actual commercial situation at present and compared the advantages, good points, and bad points between the time when they were still doing business "freely" and the present--when they are cooperating with the state--and dealt with a number of managerial matters that must be supplemented so that they can be appropriate.

Are the prices of goods high or low?

Tran Ngoc Lien, the proprietor, who was made the assistant manager of Joint Operation Cooperative Store No 6, which sells satchels and suitcases, stressed that the commercial cooperation policy is rational and reasonable and benefits everyone. Thanks to that policy, Store No 6 has advanced from selling 60 to 70 items to selling more than 100 items. The store still maintains relations with its suppliers and with wholesale buyers from areas west and east of the city. Prices are less chaotic. There is less competition in buying and selling and the intermediate steps have been reduced.

Mr. Ha Van Thuc, a shareholder of Cloth and Thread Store No 20, said that "In the past we did business at the Tran Binh market and I must say there was confusion, competition, and worry about a lot of things: taxes, market management, etc. When we began to cooperate we were very apprehensive. But

now, after 6 months, we feel very comfortable. The state's policy is appropriate. We buy a lot, sell a lot, and share large profits. Because the cloth sellers were concentrated in stores there is no longer a situation of "every man for himself." When goods are sold, there is a fixed profit, and the prices at which goods are sold to consumers are not too high in comparison to the prices at which they were bought. Furthermore, we are able to buy cloth at the source or from people who bring it to the store to sell, so the cloth does not pass through the hands of middlemen. Our store sells one kind of cloth at a price of 400 dong per meter, while the free market price is 420 dong. We sell thin, soft, cheap cloth for 140 dong per meter while its price on the free market is much greater. We sell satin at a price of 160 dong and sell striped domestic polyester cloth at a retail price of 140 dong wholesale. Thus it is clear that the prices at our store are stable." He concluded, "When we cooperated commercially with the state we lost the dog-eat-dog 'four dong in profits for one dong of capital' way of doing business but gained moral stability and benefitted both ourselves and our children."

Nguyen Huu Tri, proprietor of Sandal Store No 3, was even more specific. He "openly" revealed the sources of his goods, that he bought most of his sandals in subprecincts 9, 10, and 18 (Precinct 11), from the "Ba A" store in Precinct 5, and from the Quoc Te and Binh Tay stores in Precinct 6. He admitted that the prices of first-class sandals had increased since May for objective reasons, but had there been no jointly operated cooperative store the prices would have increased even more. He gave an example: "Ba A sandals, which are often called 'Bong Hong' sandals, sell very well in the northern provinces. Every time the ship Thong Nhat arrived the private merchants took advantage by raising prices. But now that there is a cooperative store we sell the sandals for 165 dong a pair, while the market price is 168 to 170 dong a pair. Why do we maintain the old price when the price rises? Because the store has reserve stock and the 165 dong selling price includes the allowable profit margin. Therefore, private merchants cannot raise prices. Furthermore, even if private merchants sold sandals at the same price as our store consumers would still buy them here because we have proper invoices and receipts. In the past, when we had reserve stocks and encountered a "fortunate opportunity" we freely "speculated by raising prices." Now, because we cooperate commercially with the state we can no longer do so. We believe that the commercial cooperation stores are capable of maintaining prices so that merchants cannot arbitrarily raise prices. But we recommend that the state closely monitor changes in the outside market so that when prices fall we can readjust them so we won't tie up our capital. For example, during the past 20 days the price of children's sandals has fallen from 140 dong per pair to 100 dong, so our store must take that into consideration.

The situation of selling much and declaring little still exists:

Proprietor Le Van Ni, of store 29 at No 1B, which sells soap, toothpaste, and milk, said that "birds land where the soil is good." After months of cooperating commercially with the state, he felt that state commerce is truly fertile soil so "merchants such as we still land there." That way of doing business benefits both the merchants and the state. Some merchants have not yet cooperated but everyone wants to do so. He said that "They don't want to cooperate merely to take advantage of the name. Anyone who is dishonest will



sooner or later be discovered. For example, they sell a 100-page notebook priced at 18 dong at the 'cheap' price of 16 dong, but in fact they take out 5 or 6 sheets and use them in making other notebooks. They claim that a certain kind of cloth is imported so that they can charge several hundred more dong per meter, etc. All of those tricks have been exposed."

Nguyen Ngoc Chau, proprietor of Store No 8, which sells dried foods, such as Chinese noodles, vermicelli, flavorings, etc., said that "When they enter into commercial cooperation they should no longer attempt to trick people. For its part, the state should not manage in a bureaucratic manner, but must closely monitor the business done by each of the merchants. Some merchants underdeclare taxes, evade taxes, and declare low business income, but in fact they have a large turnover. When they enter into business cooperation they continue to do so. There are also merchants who previously did a large volume of business and paid many taxes, but whose real income has declined. The state should be fair in that regard so that none of the private merchants will be jealous or confused, but will be content in doing business in the new way." Mr. Chau added that "I've only been involved in cooperative business since April 1985 but I'm very supportive of that way of doing business. Merchants continue to do business under the guidance of the state and taxes are open and fair. Mrs. Tran Thi Anh of Dry foodstuffs Store No 11 also expressed a similar opinion. Le Van Ni also talked about the state's management method toward commercial cooperation stores: "If its management is rigid those who enter into partnerships with the state will continue to make false reports. For example, at present the profit rate is inappropriate. For example, we buy canned milk at 145 dong and sell it for 147 dong. When our store sells 500 cans a day at that price and deduct a profit of 6 percent, we dare not report the truth, but report the sale of only 100 or 200 cans, for only then can we make the stipulated profit. Some people say that if we pay 500 dong in profits to the corporation we put more than 500 dong into our pockets. True, at times I put even more into my pocket, for both my wife and I, and two clerks, must have 10,000 dong a month. Thus profits and salaries together add up to only about 4,000 dong, so a way must be found to avoid the control of the corporation. I feel that doing so is wrong." The meeting room became agitated and many people admitted that the shareholders were still making false declarations, as Ni had said.

Unafraid to invest additional capital with the state:

Le Thi Hien, proprietor of Store No 10, who previously sold ready-made clothing at the Xom Voi market, said that the reason she did not enter into commercial cooperation at the Precinct 5 Commercial Center was that she would have to contribute shares worth 150 dong, while at the Binh Tay market only 50,000 dong were required. But after only a month of cooperation, she understood the new way livelihood more clearly she was prepared to invest additional capital so that sufficient goods could be purchased. The store's income, and her income, are steadily increasing.

Mr. Chau, of Dry Foodstuffs and Flavorings Store No 8, added that at first he invested only 20,000 dong in the store and now, although 50,000 dong had been invested, that was not enough to purchase goods. At present he is cooperating

with the state. As in the past, he buys from suppliers on credit and makes a down payment, so the store's "capital" has increased.

Proprietor Tran Thi Anh said that in the past, when she operated privately, her goods were limited, but now that she cooperates commercially she is encouraged to contribute additional capital and sell many additional goods, such as dried bamboo shoots, mushrooms, etc., so she is even more enthusiastic. Many merchants also borrow capital on the outside to invest with the state.

Le Hoang Cau, proprietor of Sugar Store No 38, stressed the characteristics of wholesaling at the Binh Tay market: buying on credit from suppliers and selling on credit to customers. In fact the amount of money invested is not great but the turnover is very rapid. Thanks to commercial cooperation with the state, that working method is still applied. But the state must be clear about how accounting books are kept to manage that method.

The activities of the commercial cooperation stores at the Binh Tay market show that the new business form is steadily reducing the unnecessary intermediate steps in the distribution and circulation of goods. At the aluminum goods store, 50 percent of the goods are supplied by the state purchasing teams. The merchants are prepared to contribute capital and skills to state commerce. If there is appropriate, tight management the commercial cooperation stores will have conditions for stabilizing prices and earning reasonable profits, without allowing the prices of goods to increase, as they did when the Binh Tay market was still "unorganized."

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ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE, AND FINANCE

PLANNING OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PLAN SYNTHESIZING

Hanoi TAP CHI KE HOACH HOA in Vietnamese No 146, Jun 85 pp 5-8

[Article by Tran Thao, head of the National Economic Plan Synthesizing Department of the State Planning Commission: "On the Task of Synthesizing Plans"]

[Text] In order to draft a truly good plan, in addition to fully understanding the party's economic development line, fully understand the special characteristics of the economic-social situation, do a good job of grasping and applying the laws, and know how to expertly use the balancing methods and the other planning methods, it is also necessary to have a tight mechanism regarding the planning work, a truly scientific process of drafting and synthesizing plans, and an "art" of synthesizing plans. Within the scope of this article we will only discuss plan synthesizing plans. That is a very important matter with regard to which many difficulties are still being encountered.

Participating in the drafting of plans is a common task of all component elements of the sectors and management echelons. Synthesizing plans is a responsibility of all planning organs of all echelons and sectors: the planning offices of the enterprises, enterprise federations, corporations, village planning sections, district planning offices, the planning departments of the ministries, the provincial planning committees, and the State Planning commission. The plan synthesizing elements of the planning organs at all echelons are responsible for final synthesizing.

At all planning levels there must be a synthesizing elements, which may be a person, an office, or a department (depending on the sphere of work at each echelon). The synthesizing element makes the first recommendations and also concludes the plan drafting process. The final product of the entire planning apparatus of each echelon is perfected there.

The word "synthesizing" reflects the combining of many elements and factors into a single entity. Those elements and factors are arranged selectively to create a significant structure of man. Stated more clearly, it is not simply a matter of collating or of arithmetic addition, but is a very complicated process of collecting and processing information.

At the basic level, the provincial planning organ or the State Planning Commission has many different offices and departments which perform the function of synthesizing the parts of plans. In an enterprise there are many different departments and elements which have the mission of drafting plans within the sphere of the department or element so that they can be combined to form the enterprise's overall plan. As is true with regard to the offices of the provincial planning committees, the departments of the State Planning Commission are responsible for drafting and synthesizing the parts of the plan for which they are responsible so that they can be combined to form the plan for the province or the plan for the entire national economy. Although when synthesizing plans the offices and departments base themselves on the same requirement and the same guidance thought, and with the reporting and coordination of the enterprise, the province, or the entire national economy, each office and department drafts its plan from a different angle, so the plans of those elements do not mesh with one another, may be in opposition, or in some cases entirely inappropriate to the requirements. The mission of the synthesizing work in general and of the synthesizing elements specifically is to serve as a coordinating center for dealing with problems posed by the components and to cause the plans of the components to mesh with one another and to be integrated into a unified whole.

Where does synthesizing begin and what are its contents and requirements? At present, the drafting and synthesizing of plans are being carried essentially in accordance with the process of "two downs and one up." The first "down" is the assigning of guidance figures (previously called control figures); the second "down" is the assigning of official plans; and the "up" is reporting plans from the basic echelon to the upper echelon, which is extremely important in carrying out the policy of renovating the planning work and drafting and synthesizing plans from the bottom up.

1. Assigning guidance figures is an aspect of very great importance in the planning work and is a form which manifests the principle of democratic centralism in planning.

Recently some opinions have been suspicious of the effect of guidance figures. Some people even think that guidance figures are outmoded under our new management conditions at present. The reason for that incorrect viewpoint is that some sectors and localities do not yet clearly realize the importance of the guidance figures and do not correctly apply them. When they receive guidance figures the sectors and localities are usually only concerned about the quantities of materials and capital supplied by the upper echelon. But when they help the lower echelon draft and synthesize plans and defend their plans, they do not base themselves on the guidance figures. Even the State Planning Commission does not pay adequate attention to the guidance figures when drafting and synthesizing plans.

The situation of guidance figures being removed from plan drafting, as mentioned above, and lessened their effect. Those deficiencies have not been caused by the presence of the guidance figures themselves but by the fact that their contents are not yet good, and because the planning echelons are not strict in controlling and guiding the lower echelon in drafting plans in accordance with the requirements and contents of the guidance figures.

The policy of drafting plans from the bottom up does not mean that there is no need for guidance by the upper echelon, for if there is a lack of such guidance the sectors, localities, and bases cannot grasp the general requirements and their plans cannot enter the common orbit of the economy.

In assigning guidance figures the synthesizing element of the State Planning Commission, with its role of serving as the "chief of staff," must organize research to delineate the "guidance parameters," organize all apparatus of the State Planning Commission, and to a certain extent allow the sectors and localities to participate in drafting guidance figures so that they can be submitted to the highest leadership organs of the Party and state. The principal contents of the guidance figures must include guidance thoughts regarding plan drafting, the directions and missions, the principal plan norms, and the principal measures to ensure plan fulfillment. The principal contents of the guidance figures assigned to the ministries, the general departments, and the localities in recent years may be grouped together in three categories:

--The principal missions which the sectors and localities must endeavor to attain.

--Some principal materials and investment capital supplied to the sectors and localities.

--Some economic-technical data, such as norms, prices, and the foreign markets for some products.

In order to draft good guidance figures it is necessary to profoundly and thoroughly grasping the Party's economic development line, analyze the advantages and difficulties in the plan period, confirm the principal needs, and delineate ways to resolve problems. Especially, it is necessary to clarify the key problems and the new factors which will have a major effect in the planning year, and correctly forecast the external factors (such as imported raw materials, fuel, and materials, the foreign market situation, etc.). Experience shows that initial estimates of balances and norms of the guidance figures should not be set too high when there is as yet no accurate basis.

In principle, the assigning of guidance figures to the lower echelon by the sectors and provinces is not different in the State Planning Commission, but there are differences which must receive attention: first of all, grasping the Party's line must be tied in with responsibility to fulfill the missions assigned by the upper echelon, and it is necessary to set forth objectives and measures to ensure those missions, and correctly resolve the relationship between the benefit of the nation and those of the locality and each sector. The guidance figures be based on the material conditions provided by the central echelon and balanced by the sectors and localities. At the same time it is necessary to take into consideration the self-balancing capabilities of the bases, by means of entering into joint operations and alliances with the other units.

The balances of the sectors and localities must be further expanded, not only with regard to quantity but, especially, with regard to the product line. It not only concretizes the products sent down by the central echelon, but must expand the list of products for which the sectors and localities are responsible for managing in order to meet the ever-increasing and more varied needs of the people's production and life. That is a matter of decentralizing balancing, something in which we have always been weak. In order to have a basis on which to expand balancing, the home trade, foreign trade, materials supply, and other organizations, must cooperate closely with the relevant production sectors to achieve at an early date the signing of preliminary contracts between the relevant parties. In past years, most of the economic contracts were signed only after there was an official plan, and most concentrated on supplying materials, goods, and equipment in accordance with the state plan norms. That has limited innovations by the basic level and has created passive habits on the part of the materials supply organs and the commercial organs.

2. Drafting and synthesizing plans at the basic level is the most basic aspect feature of planning. The principal content of that phase is dealing specifically with each figure in the balances, and on that basis calculating economic effectiveness, comparing the economic-technical programs, and examining a whole series of specific measures and policies to accurately determine the missions and economic structures of each unit, each management echelon, and the entire national economy. The most important matter in synthesizing plans is ensuring balance, for in fact "The permanent maintenance of balance in a conscious manner is the nature of planning" ("Collected Works of Lenin," Russian Edition, Vol 3 p 545). When determining the specific norms the leadership cadres at all levels usually demand that their planning cadres set forth specific measures and policies regarding the management mechanism. something that must be clarified and understood in a uniform manner is that those measures and policies must be quantified and manifested in the balances. That is an extremely difficult matter, for at present there is still a very great disparity between needs and capabilities. The incorrect determination of capabilities will lead to drafting inaccurate plans, which will result in their abandonment. In recent years that phenomenon has continued to occur in nearly all sectors and echelons. V. I. Lenin also pointed out for us that "The principal mistake of all of us has been that until now we have placed our hopes in what is best; therefore we have fallen victim to bureaucratic chimeras. A very small part of our plans have been fulfilled. Actual life has ridiculed our plans and those of everyone else" ("Collected Works of Lenin," Su That Publishing House, 1978, Vol 2 p 645).

The contents of plan synthesizing vary from echelon to echelon.

a. At the basic level (enterprises, cooperatives, etc.), before receiving their guidance figures it is necessary to take the initiative in analyzing the situation and clarifying the potential that can be mobilized during the planning year, especially capabilities for in-depth development, and seek to understand the capabilities of the other bases and calculate their own capabilities with regard to economic alliances and cooperation in production. When the guidance figures are received, they must be made the basis. The quantities of materials and capital supplied by the upper echelon, added to

the materials and capital provided by the basic level must be bases on which to draft the plan norms. First of all, it is necessary to ensure the missions assigned by the upper echelon, especially that of purchasing and distributing products. In the event that the materials and capital supplied by the upper echelon are insufficient or incomplete, in order to fulfill the missions assigned them the bases must endeavor to exploit the other sources so that they can balance their own plans, and endeavor to fulfill and surpass their plans. When synthesizing the plans of the basic level it is necessary to distinguish between capabilities to fulfill the missions corresponding to the volume of materials supplied and capabilities to fulfill missions from the self-balancing sources of the basic level. It is also possible to recommend that the upper echelon provide additional materials and capital in order to produce more products and attain higher effectiveness. That matter must be carefully calculated and the upper echelon must be clearly informed. If it appears that it will be difficult for the upper echelon to make adjustments and provide additional materials and capital, they should not be included in the plan. Furthermore, with regard to the economic alliances that are formed in the plan fulfillment process, only the capabilities that have been affirmed should be included in the plan, while those that are not concrete should be studied so that they can be added to the plan.

b. At the district and provincial levels, in the plan drafting processing it is necessary to concentrate guidance on a number of important links and key areas in order to examine newly arisen problems, problems regarding the policies and mechanisms, and the self-balancing capabilities of the basic level and of each area, etc. On the basis of those matters and the data reported by the basic level, the province or district must review the missions and norms it has set forth and recalculate the balances on the basis of exploiting all capabilities to determine the final objectives.

The balances and problems that must receive attention when plans are synthesized at the district and provincial levels are:

--The balance between production and construction goals and the material conditions. The balancing of materials must include those provided by the basic level and by the districts and provinces.

--The balance between the production goals and the missions assigned by the upper echelon, in which the most important norms are those regarding the mobilization and distribution of foodstuffs, the delivery of export goods to the central echelon, and the export goods of localities.

--The balance between production and the need to ensure the people's living conditions in the locality. Here, the most important norms are the production of grain, food products, and consumer goods, then housing, education, and travel by the people.

--The balance between the supply of goods and the local needs. In this regard, the most important matter is having goods to exchange with the peasants and to sell to cadres, workers, and civil servants.

In addition to the parts of the economy they manage, the districts and provinces must pay adequate attention to the overall economic development of the territorial unit and are responsible for ensuring balance with the central-level bases in the districts and provinces with regard to the principal aspects.

c. When synthesizing plans, the ministers and general departments must perform some of the same tasks as at the district and provincial levels. In addition to ensuring balance among the economic components managed by the ministry or general department, it is necessary to examine the problems of an all-sector nature, guide the localities in order to ensure development along the lines of the sector plan, provide technical guidance, and guide the fulfillment of economic-technical norms and the application of technical advances throughout the sector. When balancing the products for which the sector is responsible it is necessary to take into consideration the needs of society as a whole and of each large area in order to do a better job of supplying materials for production and consumer goods for the people. When synthesizing sector plans special attention must be made to balancing the sectors, especially industry and agriculture.

d. Finally, in synthesizing plans on the scale of the national economy, the State Planning commission is responsible for synthesizing the plans of the ministries, general departments, provinces, and municipalities, making the final determinations regarding the direction, missions, and principal goals of the economic-social economic development plan, and submitting them to the highest leadership organs of the Party and state for approval.

In the process of synthesizing plans, the State Planning Commission will work with the sectors and localities in dealing with problems of the sectors and localities which are in conflict with the common capabilities of the economy or do not meet the common needs. The compass in determining the plan objectives is the Party's economic development line and the economic-political missions set forth by the Party Congress and the resolutions of the Plenum of the Party Central Committee. As at the other levels, the determination of specific norms must be based on weighing each figure of the principal balances after full calculations regarding the four capabilities. When examining the overall balances of the national economy it is necessary to pay special attention to the rate of increase of the gross national product and national income, to the economic structure and the principal relationships, such as the relationships between industry and agriculture, between production and consumption, between consumption and accumulation, etc. The examination and final evaluation of plan quality is carried out by the State Planning Commission on the basis of full understanding of the lines of the Party and state, as manifested in the attainment of the economic-social norms and the effectiveness of social production, and on the basis of ensuring the fulfillment of plans, including the material balancing and the management measures, policies, and structures.

3. Assigning official plans to the basic level is the final phase of plan synthesizing. After plans are approved they are assigned to the ministries, the general departments, and the planning committees of the provinces, municipalities, and districts, and then, via the governmental administration



echelons, they are assigned to the basic level in the form of specific norms of a legal nature. The determination of the contents of legal norms must be based on the plan missions that have been approved and on agreement between the upper echelon and the lower echelon in the process of defending plans.

The requirement of that phase is to assign norms to the basic level at an early date so that the units can have a basis on which to officially sign economic contracts begin plan fulfillment. At the same time, the norms that are passed down must be highly accurate.

Over a period of many years the assigning of plans has usually been slow, which has caused considerable difficulties for the units. Furthermore, every year mistakes have been made in recording the norms assigned to the ministries, the localities, and the basic level: sometimes mistakes are made in typing, sometimes the norms are incorrectly recorded, and sometimes, because they are not carefully compared the production norms do not coincide with the state purchasing norms, the production norms do not coincide with the consumption and export norms, etc.

In order to overcome those deficiencies and do a better job of assigning norms, the planning echelons, especially the plan synthesizing elements at all echelons, must manifest a sense of responsibility, work moreurgently and scientifically, and continually improve their professional ability.

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AGRICULTURE

DISTRICT ELIMINATES SUBSIDIZING IN STATE PURCHASING

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 30 Jul 85 pp 3, 4

[Party Building Column by Minh Son: "Party Organization of Thuy Nguyen District Leads Elimination of Bureaucratic-Subsidizing System in State Agricultural Products Purchasing"]

[Text] After a period of paying salaries in money and selling retail goods at uniform prices Thuy Nguyen District, implementing the resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the Party Central Committee, emerged as a new factor in the municipality of Hai Phong in controlling goods and money.

Immediately after completing the fifth month-spring rice harvest Thuy Nguyen led the six districts in the outskirts of the municipality of Hai Phong in completing the payment of agricultural taxes and paying the peasants' debts to the state. After surpassing the grain mobilization norm the peasants in the district sold nearly 2,000 tons of paddy to the state at negotiated prices. The selling of pork and a number of other agricultural products and foodstuffs followed a favorable trend. Progress was made in controlling money. The peasants lent the state (in the name of lending to the municipal party committee so that it can have capital to develop production) nearly 10 million dong in money and goods.

One of the reasons for those results was that the party building work in Thuy Nguyen District has begun to change and is becoming increasingly in accord with life and equal to the revolutionary mission.

Decisions based on the actual situation:

Fully applying the basic viewpoints of the Eighth Plenum resolution, on the basis of its specific conditions, in leading the increasing of production, Thai Nguyen District determined that the central mission of the party organization at present is controlling goods and money. But what was the key concern on which the party organization had to concentrate its intelligence? At an expanded conference of the district party committee, which included key cadres of the sectors in the district, opinions expressed about that matter were quite enthusiastic. Most of those opinions expressed approval and enthusiasm toward the Party's important new resolution and agreed that paying salaries in money created conditions for eliminating the price-salary-money

subsidizes and changing over entirely to socialist commercial accounting. but there were different opinions when specific methods were discussed.

In view of that situation the standing committee of the district party committee refrained from making hasty conclusions but set forth two tasks which had to be carried out immediately. First, the entire party organization had to continue to step up propaganda and explaining in order to create a high degree of unanimity and cause the entire population, especially the party organization, to clearly understand that only by changing the management mechanism on the basis of eliminating the bureaucratic-subsidizing system and changing over entirely to socialist economic accounting is it possible to promote production, stabilize the workers' living conditions, and overcome many negative aspects of society. Second, members of the executive committee of the district party organization and the key cadres in sectors in the district went to 35 villages in the district in order to directly guide production, understand the thoughts and aspirations of the masses, and control commodity capabilities, especially the people's surplus rice and money. On that basis there were set forth objectives, directions, and quantities regarding the money and goods that must be controlled by the district.

Comrade Dao Huong, secretary of the district party committee went to provide direct guidance and grasp the situation in the Kien Bai cooperative. Kien Bai's natural and social conditions are no more favorable than those of many other places in the district. It has little land and many people (6,000 people and nearly 300 hectares of cultivated land), it has the production conditions of the semimountainous region, and has many fields with poor soil. Despite those circumstances, in recent years Kien Bai every year had fulfilled its grain and foodstuffs obligations and the other contributory obligations assigned by the district. However, a phenomenon worthy of attention was that the quantity of grain and food products sold to the state at negotiated prices was not yet large. The cooperative cadres often told the district that the people did not have large reserve stocks. However, only a few of the families did not have stills to make alcohol, especially Tet. Kien Bai liquor was famous in the area and it had become a source of supply not only for the district but also for some places in the city. That was not to mention death anniversaries, Tet, funerals, and marriages, when there was a good deal of carousing there. When we sought the reasons for that we learned that the party organization and administration of the cooperative had relaxed their management and leadership and consciousness among the people toward economizing in the use of grain was not yet high. Furthermore, state purchasing at negotiated prices was usually a matter of "coercing" the people. The district assigned norms to the cooperatives, which assigned norms to the units, which in turn assigned norms to each cooperative member family. The state purchase prices were not yet rational and were often very low and it not make up for the production expenses and the reproduction of labor. Because the peasants did not make a profit they either stockpiled their surplus grain or used it to distill alcohol or make cakes. That is not mention the fact that purchasing by the state corporations in the city and the districts was not fair and that the state owed the cooperatives, and the cooperatives owed the peasants, from one season to another.

Now, because of the effect of the new policies of the party and state which are intended to bring into play the collective mastership right of the peasants toward the results of their labor, heavily subsidized buying and selling could no longer be maintained. What must the district do control most of the agricultural commodities produced by the peasants? The secretary and the district cadres sought the answer from among the masses. In the course of asking the opinions of the people everyone said that "we're willing to sell surplus rice and the other commodities to the state provided that prices are appropriate. Payments should be fair and the selling locations convenient."

The secretary of the district party committee visited the family of comrade Pham Khac Can, a party member who was wounded in the anti-French war. After asking questions and listening to an explanation of the state's policy of eliminating the old method of state purchasing, Mr. Can calculated the amount of rice he would need until the 10th month season and sold the rest to the state. He sold a ton of rice and received payment for the rice plus the money he had saved and lent to the state a total of 100,000 dong. When they saw that they could sell rice to the state without suffering harm experiencing a lot of trouble, the peasants enthusiastically sold their rice. Ten families sold the state 3 to 10 tons of paddy. Many of the families lent the state the money they received for selling the rice. During that period, the Kien Bai cooperative was the first unit to fulfill the over-all grain mobilization norm assigned by the state.

On the basis of the experiences of Kien Bai, comrade Dao Huong recommended, and the district party committee approved, the holding of a conference of all key sector cadres and members of the district party committee on the Kien Bai cooperative. Also on the basis of the actual situation in Kien Bai the party committee of Thuy Nguyen District decided that in order to control the people's goods and money it must first of all focus on the key concern of leading the elimination of the subsidy system in the purchasing of the peasants' agricultural products by the state.

Beginning to perfect the apparatus:

The first task carried out by the district party committee was that it rectified and rearranged the economic activity apparatus in the district. The sectors in the distribution-circulation system, such as the financial, banking, commercial, marketing cooperative, and grain sectors, were the first to be reviewed. Each sector, bureau, and section in the district was required to review its cadres and consolidate its organization. The district party committee required the sectors to reorganize their cadres with the objective of changing over all economic activities in the district, which had always been heavily characterized by administrative management and a centralized bureaucratic-subsidizing system, over to socialist commercial accounting.

The functions and missions of a number of sectors and corporations in the district have been designated so that they can be appropriate to the new management mechanism. In the past the grain bureau primarily fulfilled the missions of collecting agricultural taxes and managing and distributing grain, but now it has changed over to being a commercial accounting unit. In

addition to its mission of ensuring the fulfillment of the tax and debt collection norms assigned by the municipality, it is responsible for purchasing all surplus grain from the people. On that basis it balances all grain consumption needs in the district at commercial prices (not that sent from the municipality). The sectors, such as the financial, price, commercial, banking, and export sectors, have also been explicitly stipulated, and they are required to be dynamic, make commerce their mode, and make service their objective. On the basis of clearly determining the functions and missions, in order to fulfill the new requirements of life, it has rearranged and reorganized its cadres. The district party committee adopted the policy of resolutely dismissing from the ranks of the district, bureau, section, and specialized cadres those who are conservative, backward, lack dynamism, do not have new thoughts, and are not responsive toward life. Cadres and party workers who violate the collective mastership right of the masses, who cheat and shortchange the peasants in buying agricultural commodities must be dealt with sternly. The basic spirit is taught to all cadres and party members in the district, especially those directly engaged in buying from the peasants: respecting the collective mastership right of the masses and ensuring that they are truly the masters of the results of their labor.

After carrying out a survey at the basic level and gaining full understanding of the peasants, the party committee of Thuy Nguyen District realized that in order to grasp and control most of the grain, agricultural products, and food products in the district it was necessary to set rational purchase prices, which are sufficiently high to meet production expenses and provide the peasants with a little profit. In the purchasing of agricultural products and food products from the peasants in the past, in Hai Phong in general and Thuy Nguyen in particular, there was only one price for all areas, which had different production conditions. In other words, in an area which produced a kilo of rice only with difficulty and had many production expenses the price was the same as in places with more favorable production conditions. Realizing that that kind of state purchasing was heavily subsidizing in nature, the party committee and people's committee of the municipality of Hai Phong, on the basis of price guidelines set by the central echelon, on investment in production expenses, and on market research, set price guidelines for the districts and authorized the secretary and chairman of the district people's committee to apply them flexibly and set prices that were appropriate to each area in the district, on the basis of the principle of using places with high prices to make up for places with low prices, while still ensuring the general price guideline set by the municipality.

After that decentralization, the Thuy Nguyen District party committee realized more clearly its responsibility in leading the implementation of the Eighth Plenum resolution on prices, salaries, and money. The situation of waiting and passing along responsibility in the district party committee came to an end. It guided 35 village party organizations in closely monitoring the production units. Every village party committee and production unit party chapter, with the participation of the peasants, drafted plans to develop the family economy and at the same time drafted plan norms for the families. After setting aside sufficient grain for consumption until the 10th month season the remaining rice was not used to distill alcohol or make noodles and